

Rev. Dr. Brown
XXIV.
24.
CONTROVERSY

ARISING OUT OF

MR. E. B. BRYAN'S ATTACKS

UPON

MR. TOWNSEND.

CHARLESTON:
WALKER, EVANS & CO., STEAM PRINTERS,
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1858

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TO THE PEOPLE OF ST. JOHN'S, COLLETON.

Fellow-Citizens :

You have all, doubtless, witnessed the unprofitable controversy, which has lately existed between Mr. E. B. Bryan and myself; growing out of his public attacks upon me, in the newspapers. I need not express to you, how utterly distasteful, it has been to me, to have had myself thus obtruded upon the public notice; nor how much I regret, that Mr. Bryan should have considered it advantageous to his own interests, thus to have acted. He has not only unfairly attacked my public conduct; which when done with candor and decorum, I never object to; but he has thought it necessary to assail my *personal honor*, and my *private character*, wantonly, ruthlessly, and without provocation. If, then, my share in this unhappy controversy, has been to *defend* myself; to *repel these attacks* upon my honor and private character; and to *exhibit to you the character* of the man who has put himself forward to be my assailant, I think I shall be held not merely excusable, but

fully justified in the opinions of all right thinking men.

You will perceive by the correspondence between the Editor of the Mercury and myself, why I have been compelled to resort to the *private press* to obtain from you a hearing. I have desired, (but fruitlessly,) that my answer should have been as public and as extensive as the attack: but next to this, I desire that the issues between Mr. Bryan and myself should be *properly understood* by my fellow-citizens here, and elsewhere. This last I can accomplish, only by laying before you the *whole* controversy; commencing with Mr. Bryan's first rude attack upon me in his "Card" of the 17th Sept.; together with all the papers, which have grown out, or formed a part of it. This is rendered further necessary, because very many of our citizens do not take the Mercury; and many who do, have no doubt lost, or mislaid the articles to which reference frequently becomes necessary. I then respectfully invite your attention,

fellow-citizens, to the following facts :

During the last summer, the political canvas was proceeding, in the quiet and orderly way which usually characterizes it in this Parish, when there appeared in the Mercury of the 16th Sept., the following extraordinary "Card" of Mr. Bryan, containing the most unfair attacks upon my public conduct, and the most atrocious calumnies upon my private character :

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

A CARD.

To the People of St. John's, Colleton :

The necessity is thrust upon me of publicly noticing a rumor which has been circulated among you, and the newspaper is my most convenient resource.

As you are aware, I have been nominated for the Senate, and am supported by a very respectable portion of the parishioners, both in point of numbers and intelligence. The nomination and acceptance, it would appear, has given great offence to my opponent. To that fact I am indifferent. And had the opposition to me been confined to legitimate and *open* controversy, I would have been content to let my "record" speak for itself, upon a fair comparison with that of the other candidate. But such is not the case.

The authorship of the rumor is matter of no concern to me. I look to the *object*, and hold him responsible alone for *whose bene-*

fit the injury has been attempted, viz. : Mr. John Townsend.

The following extract, which I write from memory, from a letter written by me, some weeks since, to Mr. Edward W. Seabrook, will explain itself :

"Certain rumors have reached me of late to the effect that 'I had *promised* Mr. Townsend never to oppose him,' or that 'I had *promised* him not to be a candidate for the Senate at this election,' or that 'I had *agreed* with him not to be a candidate.' Now, inasmuch as I *am* a candidate, the rumors imply a breach of faith calculated to injure my reputation for veracity. I therefore take this method of giving them my unqualified denial.

"I have said to several gentlemen, you, I believe, among the number, that I would not be a candidate; that I had no desire to go to the Senate, and even that I thought of declining to offer for the Legislature at all. But these views were *voluntary*. And I conceive that I have a *right voluntarily* to change them. I have changed them at the solicitation of friends from every quarter of the Parish. But that I have ever made a promise of any kind to Mr. Townsend, is wholly untrue."

In justification of this card, I must now call your attention to the fact that I am not the *first* political opponent whose private character Mr. Townsend, or some of his party, has attempted to injure. Many among you remember the canvass of 1850, and can bear evidence of the fact. Nor, if there should be a question of veracity between us, am I the first, nor will I probably be the last, who has dissent-

ed to his statements? The following characteristic letter was written when he was *not even a candidate* in the canvass of 1846, but a very short time before the day of election, as its date shows, rendering it impossible for Mr. Paul C. Grimball, whose character he assails, and who is one of the most respectable gentlemen in South Carolina, to notice it, if, indeed, he would have condescended so much. It is due to the gentleman to whom it was addressed to say, that he recoiled from taking any part in the secret machination. The italics are Mr. Townsend's :

ROCKVILLE, October 9, 1846.

Dear Sir: You may not be aware (and I therefore give you the information) that Mr. James McCants has published, at the muster house on Wadmalaw, an *affidavit* to the fact in dispute between himself and Mr. Grimball, to the effect that he, Mr. Grimball, had expressed it as his opinion, "That certain persons, who at an election for Senator in St. Andrew's Parish, when Capt. Rivers and Dr. Legare were candidates, *ought not to be allowed to vote* because they *had no property*, and consequently had no interest in the election:" or something, if not in the very words above, at least to the same effect. He has also published at the same place, to be read by every one who may wish to be informed on the subject, the certificates which Mr. Grimball has, with so much industry, procured on James' Island, with a view to destroy his reputation for veracity, together with his (Mr. McCants') comments upon these certificates. Truly, the course

which Mr. Grimball has pursued in this affair, is most unusual and unwarrantable, and his effort to blast the character of this young man (whose chief, if not only, property is his character and fair name) is most unworthy, and should be discountenanced by every right thinking man in the community. Indeed, I think they should endeavor to make that conduct recoil upon him at the approaching election, by making every man acquainted with the circumstance who would be disfranchised by those opinions. I shall not fail to do so in the case of every one within my reach in this neighborhood, as I now have no doubt on my mind that Mr. McCants' statement is *true*; and I the more believe it to be true, from the most extraordinary and reprehensible measures which have been taken to prove it false, and to bolster up the denial.

I shall be pleased to have an interview with you on Monday, at my plantation at Bugby, where I shall be, between nine and ten o'clock, previous to the election.

I am, very respectfully, yours,
(Signed) J. TOWNSEND.
To Mr. ISAAC WILSON.

With respect to this letter, I refrain from any other comment than this: If he, not being a candidate, assails in the above manner an old resident of the Parish, why should not I, now that he *is* a candidate, be the "*victim*" of his energetic resentment? In spite of the solicitude expressed for "certain persons" in an adjoining Parish who "had no property," he, in his capacity as Senator for *your*

Parish, attempted, in 1855, in my presence and in that of my then colleague, and in the presence of the Committee on Roads, Bridges and Ferries, to deprive "certain persons" in your Parish, who "had no property," of the benefit of the right of petitioning the Legislature, by raising a prejudice against their petition upon the ground that they were "*over-seers*" and "*not tax payers*." With the local controversy then involved, I had nothing to do, and I stand acquitted of ever having had any participation in it; but both of your Representatives for the year 1855 can *vouch for the fact*, which I have heard he now *denies*. His solicitude also for "the character of this young man" is in strict accord with his solicitude for *mine* and for *all others* who venture to offer for office except under his patronage. Autocracy may be his delight, but I feel confident it is not your desire. If, then, you are to judge me by my political and public career, contrast it, if you please, with that of my opponent; but, if your selection is to be made upon other grounds, I only ask that while judging *me* you will judge *my responsible accuser* by the evidence adduced. He has expressed his intention to "*crush*" me for presuming to gratify the wishes of those among you who desire me to represent them. From the letter I have produced, *you all* can judge of the nature of his "*crushing*" apparatus. Most of you know that my acceptance of your nomination has raised the hackneyed cry of "persecution;" has brought upon me the stealthy whisper of timid

accusation and prudent inuendo, and has caused the flippant tongue of scandal to linger over the midnight cup, *pledged in a forced intimacy*, or else to grace the board of an *artful hospitality*. I have heretofore been silent, but can no longer remain the inactive recipient of deliberate injury. Judge you between us.

I am, with the greatest respect, your obedient servant,

EDWARD B. BRYAN.

John's Island, Sept. 14, 1858.

This poisoned missile, so undeserved on my part, and so unprovoked, by any thing which I had done, thrown unexpectedly within our community, occasioned almost universal surprise. The cause assigned for it was so trifling, so empty, so unsatisfactory, that it was generally believed that the motive of the "Card" was to break me down, by virulent assaults upon my *private reputation*; a scheme in which, to their honor it may be said, few, if any of Mr. Bryan's respectable supporters, gave him any sympathy.—Forced, however, by him, into the public newspapers, I replied to his "Card" in the following communication, which was published in the Mercury, of the 25th Sept. :

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

Mr. Editor: Having published Mr. Edward B. Bryan's "Card" in your paper of the 16th inst., I claim the favor of you to give to my answer a place also in your

columns, in order that my defence may circulate as widely as his attack. My answer has been of greater length than I desired, in consequence of the explanations which have become necessary in a transaction which occurred *twelve years* ago. I trust, however, that all who have read the "Card" will read the answer.

With much respect,

Your obt. serv't.,

J. TOWNSEND.

Bleak Hall, Sept. 21, 1858.

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*To the Citizens of St. John's,
Colleton:*

Our mail, in its tardy progress, has brought you this day, no doubt, the extraordinary "Card" of my opponent, Mr. E. B. Bryan, published in the Mercury of the 16th inst. The annals of St. John's, Colleton will be searched in vain for an example of violent personal attack, through the public newspapers, so wanton and uncalled for; and all founded on "rumor;" "rumor," which might have been set right (if *that* had been the real object of the *newspaper* attack) without the least difficulty here in the Parish, and without this great flourish of trumpets to call the attention of the world to the trifling concerns (in their estimation) of our little Parish, and the obscure men who figure in it. But loathsome as it is to my taste, to have Parish squabbles obtruded upon the attention of the general public, or to be haled, as I am, by my opponent into the public prints to repel his coarse attacks, he has left me no choice but to follow him into

the arena of his own selection. Be pleased, then, fellow-citizens, to accompany us there. You have read his attack; I now beseech you patiently to hear my defence.

Mr. Bryan complains of a "rumor" which, he says, "has been circulating among you;" "the authorship of which," he says, "is matter of no consequence to him;" but looking to the *object* of the rumor, and thinking that it is for *my benefit*, he holds me responsible. Strange doctrine this: that one man should be made responsible for the acts of other men—whether known or unknown to him, approved or disapproved! Mr. Bryan lays great stress upon the words, "promised" and "agreed," as if the rumor which distresses him implied that he had made a *bargain*, or had entered into a *contract* with some body, "not to be a candidate for the Senate at this election." Now I am well persuaded that in *that sense*, no rumor of that kind (except it may be magnified so by his own friends) has been circulating in the Parish. He is, therefore, defending his "reputation for veracity" against a *phantom* of his own imagination.

Previous to July, when he became an avowed candidate, he had said, not to one, but to many persons, at different times, that he would not be a candidate for the Senate; that he preferred to be in the House. At one time it was said that he would not be a candidate at all, as he was about to leave the Parish, to be engaged in a newspaper in Columbia. But however this may be, the impression

upon the public mind, created by his own frequent declarations, was, that *he did not intend to be a candidate for the Senate*. When, therefore, in July he was announced (with his consent, as we infer from his "Card") as a candidate for the Senate, it took many persons in the Parish by surprise. For myself, I do not hesitate to say that I regretted it; not for the reason—which some of Mr. Bryan's friends may suppose—of his being successful over me; but because, as there were no public measures before the country which involved any political principles, I was earnestly desirous of avoiding a *strife* about *men*; which would convulse the Parish with an excitement which would alienate friends, and perhaps sow bitter divisions amongst us. I looked upon his announcement for the Senate, as a declaration, on the part of my *personal* enemies, of their determination to degrade me as far as *they* were able, and as far as a loss of office *can* do so; and I regarded the acceptance of the nomination by my opponent, as an evidence that he was willing to lend himself as an *instrument* in their hands to turn me out of the Senate, when he had no inclination to go there, but preferred to be in the House of Representatives. This determination, on his part, to become a candidate for the Senate, after his frequent declarations previously that he would *not be* a candidate, *disappointed public expectation*. He was doing what he had *said he would not do*; which thought, in passing through the minds of men, and passing from mouth to mouth, it may be pro-

bable, took the form of expression (very naturally, although not critically correct) which Mr. Bryan objects to—that "*he promised not to be a candidate*." Even if the words *were* used, I do not hold myself responsible for other men's language, much less for the precise and critical use of the words which they may employ to convey the *impressions of their minds*, arising from the conduct of other men.

My opponent has charged against me that I have expressed my "intention to *crush* him for presuming to gratify the wishes of those amongst you who desire him to represent you." This must be another of the "*rumors*" which distress him; for he certainly has no cause from *me*, from anything which *I have said or done*, to authorize him to make so unfounded an assertion. I have never said so; I have never thought of doing so, whatever may be the consequences of his own acts in injuring himself. My intention is, and that of my friends, to prevent him from *crushing* me; which the temper of bitter hostility to me, developed in his "card," (which I so much regret, and is so unexpected to me,) declares to be *his* intention towards me. If measured by the same standard which he has meted out to me, I should hold *him* responsible for that rumor; for there is little doubt that it has been started by its author for *his* "benefit," with a view to grave deeper, the prejudice against me, which is exposed to you under the sneer about my "autocracy" in relation to those "who venture to offer for office except under my patronage." I have, fellow-cit-

izens, no desire to *crush* Mr. Bryan. He is a man of inordinate ambition, as is evidenced by his being a candidate for the *Senate*, when he said, he has no desire to be there, and has said also, that he prefers to be in the House. But he is a man of education and character, with whom I have heretofore cultivated friendly relations, which I have shown by acts. I voted for him at the last election : and two or three years ago, when he was your member in the Legislature, and sought after a lucrative office in the gift of the Legislature, I voted for him for the office and otherwise gave him my support, which, however, proved unavailing, as his opponent was too strong for him, and he lost the valuable *pecuniary* appointment. This surely does not indicate *hostility* to him, when I have embraced every opportunity to promote his political and *pecuniary* interests. The charge, then, is groundless, that I “intend to *crush* him.” My intention is to prevent him (as the *instrument* of my personal enemies, combined with all the elements of opposition which are at this time temporarily enlisted against me) from *crushing* me. Dismiss, then, this accusation of his, from your minds as a thing unworthy of credit.

But, fellow-citizens, I think it is apparent upon the face of the “Card” of my opponent, that his *chief* object in haling me into the newspapers, was not the “rumor” which was circulating among you about his having “*promised*” or “*agreed*” not to be a candidate for the Senate. That could easily have been explained, and settled, here at home,

without any impeachment, or the smallest risk to “his reputation for veracity.” But Mr. Bryan had been amiably furnished with a *private* letter, which I had written during the excitement of a political canvass *twelve years* ago, to Mr. Isaac R. Wilson, who was in favor of the same object with myself, (although with the greater intensity of private feelings superadded,) of defeating a certain candidate, then before the people. And with this terrible *torpedo* in his possession, he could not resist the temptation of wrapping it up in the newspapers, and throwing it among you, to blow up, and annihilate the writer of it. For the last *eight years*, at every election in which I have been a candidate, I have heard of this terrible missile; which had driven Mr. Grimball and his friends, as I was informed, into bitter hostility to me, and (to drop the figure and adopt another,) was mustering foes against me like an industrious *Recruiting Sergeant*, enlisted from among those — who were *already opposed* to me. When I first heard of this letter, and the terrible ravages which it was making upon my popularity (*among my enemies*,) which was in 1850, *four years* after it had been written, I was inclined to believe that the report could not be true. Four years, fellow citizens, is a long time for any one to remember all the letters (with their contents) which he has written, especially those which are thrown off in the hurry and excitement of a political canvass. Which of you can do so? Having therefore no recollection of the letter, its subject, or its contents, I ap-

plied to Mr. Isaac R. Wilson, to let me look over it, for the purpose of seeing what it was about. He replied that "it was *misplaced*, and therefore he could not furnish me with it, but would endeavor to find it." He stated his impressions from *memory* of what it contained; which was an invitation "to meet him, at my Bugby plantation, on the 14th October, 1836, previous to the election on that day, to take into consideration Mr. P. C. Grimball's treatment to Mr. James McCants; and it further expressed a doubt, not very flattering, to Mr. Grimball's statement of the case." He went on to inform me that "he showed my letter of the 14th October, 1836, to several friends, at the time he received it, three of which are willing to certify as above." A *certificate*, furnished from *memory*, of the contents of a letter by "three friends," perhaps all prejudiced against me, was not such a *sight* or *copy* of my letter as would suit my purpose. I therefore declined the certificate; and a comparison of the above statement of its contents, by Mr. Isaac R. Wilson, from *memory*, with the letter now published, will show the propriety of my course. I wanted to see the veritable letter; in order, as I stated to Mr. Wilson, to "ascertain from *it*, what I did *actually say*, which was improper;" with a view (if I said anything wrong of Mr. Grimball,) "to make him the *amende honorable* as soon as I could do so without an impeachment of my motives;"—which I would have done *after* the election which was then pending. I have, however, never been allowed to see or

have a copy of that letter, although I have sought for it with earnestness, and for the object just expressed.

But although I have been denied that boon of courtesy, (you, my fellow citizens, will name it *justice*;)—at every fourth year, when I am proposed to you by my friends, for a renewal of your confidence, that *terrible* letter is exhumed from the cabinet of the individual, to whom, under a misplaced confidence, it was my misfortune to write it, and is made to play the part of a masked battery against me, in that part of the Parish, where it is my misfortune to have few supporters. At the election in 1850, when I was first made aware that such a thing was in existence, it was taken possession of by some bitter foe; who, with the right good will inspired by personal and political hostility, turned it upon Mr. P. C. Grimball, and drove him, with his "kith, kin and allies," into strong hostility to me. In the election of 1854, although it had been *misplaced*, it is heard of again, battering down my "friends," and damaging my prospects. And now in 1858, after doing me all the mischief that it could in that part of the Parish, it is turned over to Mr. Bryan to help his election, by publishing it in the newspapers, to damage me in the rest of the Parish, and wherever else the Mercury may circulate—so far, at least, as such a thing *can* injure any one! I congratulate myself, fellow citizens, that I have been at *last* allowed to see this *terribly wicked thing*; even though the *intent* in publishing it was so malign and destruc-

tive to me. I trust that you have preserved Mr. Bryan's "Card," in which it is to be found. And now let us approach it with the caution so venomous a reptile should inspire; let us thoroughly examine it to see if we can discover its lurking mischief; or whether there is anything at all unwarrantable about it, or which is not every day practiced at political elections, between men acting together for the same object.

The letter, you observe, is dated October 9th, 1846, nearly *twelve years* ago. Now let us carry ourselves back, in imagination, to that period, and to the circumstances under which that letter was written. Mr. P. C. Grimball was a candidate for the Senate, and was opposed by a gentleman of very high character, a personal friend of mine; and what was more, one whom I believed to be much better qualified for the office. Now the letter is composed of two things:—First, Mr. Grimball's opinions on the *right of suffrage*; and, second, his *treatment of Mr. McCants*, at that time, one of our citizens. If Mr. Grimball's opinions were, (as Mr. McCants on *oath*, declared that they were,) to wit:—"That certain persons ought not to be allowed to *vote*, because they had no property;" I put the question to you, fellow citizens, whether it was not a good and substantial ground for every man, thus attempted "to be disfranchised," to vote against him? What protection would they have for their *personal* and *political rights*, if they were not allowed to *vote* for members of the Legislature? Believing, as I did at the time, that Mr.

McCants' statement, made under oath, was true, who would not use it as a legitimate mode of defeating the election of a candidate to whom he was opposed? If I know any thing of party warfare, I answer, not one. Why then should I be condemned for recommending what everybody, under similar circumstances, would do?

The second subject matter of the letter, is, you will observe, Mr. Grimball's conduct towards Mr. McCants. It has been a long time since the occurrence took place, and therefore many of the circumstances may have passed from the memory; but since I have had an opportunity of reading the letter, many have returned with considerable distinctness. It seems, from the letter, that Mr. Grimball and Mr. McCants were at issue as to Mr. Grimball's opinions, as to allowing *men, without property, to vote*—Mr. McCants affirming, and Mr. Grimball denying the charge. But instead of Mr. Grimball's resting his denial upon the strength of his own character, and the credibility of the two parties, he went about getting certificates to destroy Mr. McCants' *reputation for veracity*. These certificates, Mr. McCants had collected, and made his comments upon, and I remember his coming to my house with a long paper, in the form of a placard, on which they were written. The impression left on my mind is, that many of the certificates, under his comments and explanations, were very frivolous, and quite uncalled for, but all intended to impeach his veracity. He seemed deeply wounded in his feelings, at this

and was much excited; expressing his determination to nail the placard upon the door of the muster house, (from which I attempted to dissuade him,) which I believe he afterwards did. I remember that my sympathies were strongly excited in his behalf. And what I feel strongly, I am apt to express strongly, and do ardently. It was under the influence of such feelings, that I wrote the letter to Mr. Isaac R. Wilson. I believed Mr. McCants' statement at the time to be *true*, as stated in my letter, and Mr. Grimball's conduct towards him, to be harsh and unwarrantable; and for that, and the other reason stated in my letter, that "his conduct should be made to recoil upon him at the election then pending." Now, before I ask "who under the same circumstances would have acted differently," let us inquire who Mr. James C. McCants was? He was a poor young man of some education, and, as far as I then knew him, of a fair and upright character. He was an *overseer* by profession; had been in that capacity with Mr. P. C. Grimball a few years previous, but was then residing on Wadmalaw. He had an aged mother, and perhaps a family of his own (but of this I am not sure,) dependent on him for support and protection; and all the *property* he possessed to enable him to accomplish this, was his industry and reputation; or, as I expressed it in my letter, "his character and fair name." And this young, poor man, an *overseer*, in humble circumstances, was the individual whom the wealthy, powerful Planter was attempting to ruin, by attempt-

ing to destroy that brightest jewel, in the crown of manhood—his *character* for *truth* and *veracity*.

Such was the view which I took of the parties, at the time I wrote the letter. And now sincerely believing that all these things were *true*, (as I thought at the time I had good reasons for believing,) I again ask the question, fellow-citizens, who of you, under the same circumstances, would have acted differently? or do I deserve the imputation of dishonorable conduct, which, my opponent attempts to cast upon me, for writing that letter.

I am very free to admit that after several months had passed over, several circumstances came to my knowledge which greatly modified my opinions in the matter, and caused me to think that Mr. McCants, under the smarting of the wrongs which he supposed he had received, and under the excitement incident thereto, had much misled my feelings; and I was led to believe that he was not, after all, so very much a wronged man by Mr. Grimball as I had supposed he was. With this change in my views, my former feelings of kindness towards Mr. Grimball (which had only for a short time been interrupted,) began to flow back upon him, and in a few years they were again, if not cordial, at least friendly, on my part; and such, I doubt not, they would have continued to the present time, had it not been for the amiable interference of those who seem to delight in *sowing discord*, and not peace among them. The election was over; years had

passed by; Mr. McCants had left the Parish; the excitement had burnt out; the *election letter*, with its contents, had entirely passed out of the memory, or else (like all other ephemeral things of that nature, which pass between men of the same political party, and are regarded as *confidential*;) it was supposed to have passed away with the occasion, and was no longer in existence. But how mistaken! It was written to Mr. Isaac R. Wilson, who did not entertain the views which usually govern other gentlemen, on such matters. It was nursed, and cherished, and put away, "showed to several friends," and doubtless, at the fitting time, shown to everybody. With what object? Why, to rake among the embers of a long past political controversy, and blow into a flame *bad feelings* among men. And now, after accomplishing these objects, it is given to my opponent to serve *his* purposes, and *he* has put it into the newspapers!

He had a motive for doing this; and that motive the governing, if not the only one, in publishing the letter—and that was to excite against me the prejudices of "certain persons in our Parish who had no property." He tries to effect this by asserting that I "attempted, in 1855, in his presence, to deprive certain persons in our Parish, who had no property, of the benefit of the right of petitioning the Legislature, by raising a prejudice against their petition, on the ground that they were *overseers*, and not *tax-payers*." I have denied this assertion before; and I now, again, give it the most emphatic and

positive denial. I shall be slow to believe, fellow-citizens, that Mr. Bryan has not misapprehended the whole scope and tenor of my argument, on the occasion alluded to, before the committee. But he must have misapprehended it, or else he would not make the assertion he does. To prove this, let us refer to the *matter* before the committee. It was a petition (accompanied by a bill to carry it out) from certain citizens residing in one section of this island, praying the Legislature to grant them a certain road and landing, which might be convenient to them; and praying that the property of all that part of the Parish lying south of the North Edisto river might be *taxed* for the purpose of *paying the expenses* of the undertaking. This I regarded as *unjust*; especially as a company of gentlemen had already subscribed largely, to build a wharf and bridge, which was more convenient to them, and to another section of the island. They pointed me to the *number* of signatures to their petition; and claimed that, as they had the *majority of names* to their petition, that, therefore, the Legislature ought to grant them the privilege of taxing the whole. It was in reply to *this* argument that I took the ground, which I still maintain to be right, that in these *local, sectional* enterprises, no one should petition the Legislature *to impose taxes upon others, which taxes such person would not feel, by bearing a part in*; and, therefore, that no *transient person*, or any one else—be he *overseer*, lawyer, doctor, or what not—should be allowed to *petition away*, for his *own benefit*, the *property of*

his neighbors, through the power of taxation. In looking over the petition, I discovered the names of a *planter and merchant*, who had sold out, and were about to leave the island; and yet *they* were petitioning the Legislature to authorize these parties, interested in their *sectional* enterprise, to tax the whole island to pay for it. I objected to such signatures. I observed, again, the names of some *overseers* who owned no property in the Parish; and I objected to such signatures. I made no "attempt to *deprive them* of the benefit of the *right of petitioning the Legislature*," as my opponent charges me.

This would be entirely contrary to the principles of my whole life. But I did object to their signing a petition of the *nature of the one, then before the committee*; and that, not merely for the reason that they *owned no property in the Parish to feel the tax*, (and on the same principle I would have objected to the signature of the President of the United States, or any one else, were he as wealthy as the Baron Rothschild;) but I objected for another reason, which *applied to every one else whose name was on the petition*—and that is, that one section of the Parish should not be allowed to tax another section of the Parish, for objects purely *local and sectional*. What would Legareville think, if they were taxed to build an expensive wharf at Rockville, and especially if this tax were imposed through a petition signed by *transient and other persons, owning no property here, to feel the tax*?

These were the objections

which I took against the signatures of "certain persons who owned no property" (as well as to the policy of others who did own property.) I trust it is not necessary for me now to point out to any intelligent mind, the difference between these cases and those whom Mr. Grimball (according to the accusation of Mr. McCants) would have deprived of the elective franchise—the right of *voting at all at elections*. My opponent seems to consider the case so identical that he would seem to charge me with great inconsistency, for doing the one, and objecting to the other.

My opponent seems to take great merit to himself in claiming that, "with the local controversy then involved he had nothing to do, and that he stands acquitted of ever having had any participation in it." He need not have told any of you that, who may have chanced to be in Columbia when these Parish questions were before the Legislature. It was well noted, and remarked upon. "What a cunning fellow he is." "How politic." "He takes sides with neither party, but keeps in with both." "How non-committal." Such were the thoughts, and the words of men, who observed him on those occasions. Well, it was certainly a very *cunning policy*; and verily, he is now reaping his reward. His conduct in "having nothing to do" with our Parish questions, of which he informs you, fellow-citizens, with so much self-complacency, now he is enjoying his reward, may be a master-stroke of generalship, and may be consistent with what he may conceive to be *his duty*.

Such are not, however, my views of duty to my constituents—to all, every, each one. If they come before the Legislature with their claims, and are, unhappily, *opposed* to each other, one party must be *more* right than the other, or, it may be, that one is absolutely right and the other wrong. What, then, is the duty of the Representative? Not, surely, according to my views of duty, to “have nothing to do” with the controversy, but, on the other hand, *to examine it carefully*, and endeavor to ascertain on which side is the *right* and the *truth*; and this ascertained, then (if he be right) to stand, if needs be, with the one man, with *justice* on his side, against the twenties or the forties who are opposed to him, if their petition be to *wrong* him. But some one of this non-committal, “have-nothing-to-do-with-it” school, may say, this will make you *unpopular*. Even so. But I do not regulate my conduct, in the discharge of my duties in the Legislature, by what is *popular*, but by what is *right*. This I know, and have felt, to be a difficult maxim for a man in public station to act upon. But to the moral being, feeling his accountability, there are surely higher, nobler aims than to be popular—the approbation of the virtuous and the wise; and higher still than all this, the silent testimony of his own conscience in his communings with his God—that *he has done his duty*, without *fear* and without *favor*!

I approach now, fellow-citizens, the closing *paragraphs* of my opponent’s unhappy attack upon me. I beg you to read them for yourselves, from his “card.” It was with pity min-

gled with grief that I read them; pity, at the insanity of excitement, under which he must have conceived and written them; and grief, at the deep malignity of hate which they betrayed. We had supposed that, when in July, (near the dog days,) he consented to yield himself up, as an *instrument*, into the hands of my personal enemies, to accomplish their gratification, that he did so *reluctantly*, with *great unwillingness*; that it was a sort of *constraint* upon him, which he was obliged to submit to, either of gratifying their amiable wishes in regard to me, or of forfeiting his popularity with them. But instead of his continuing the *tool* in the hand of my personal enemies for *them* to *chisel* me with, I am sorry to find that he has become one of them himself; and one of the most virulent, too, of them all, if we may judge by the extraordinary “card” which he has published.

Alas! how changed even within a few short months! But scarcely one year has elapsed since he not only thought me fit for the office, but offered to agree with me, that if I would withdraw from the Senate in his favor, in 1862, then, he would not oppose me at the present election. He told me he thought he could beat me, in consequence of the number of supporters whom I had lost, by the unhappy divisions among our people here, about our *roads* and *landings* (which he thought “a foolish piece of business;”) that some of his friends (who happen to be my most decided opponents) were urging him to oppose me at the coming election (the one now pending;) but if I would agree to his pro-

position, he could so arrange it as to satisfy them. This proposition I could not, of course, agree to. I considered the offices of the Parish as not his, nor mine, to be bargaining them away in this manner, but the People's, to dispose of, to whom they please. When he made the proposition, the shocking letter which he has just published, and which was so offensive, that Mr. P. C. Grimald would not "condescend to notice it," and Mr. Isaac R. Wilson absolutely "*recoiled* from taking any part in its secret machinations"—this letter must have been known to him; and my conduct in 1855, in depriving *overseers* of their *right of petition*, was done "in his presence." My political sins must have been well known to him. But maugre all this, he would not have opposed me at this election if I had agreed to withdraw in his favor in 1862! How changed have become his opinions, alas! Look at his card, and especially the last paragraphs.

* * his acceptance of the nomination "has brought upon him the stealthy whisper of timid accusation and prudent inuendo, and has caused the flip-pant tongue of scandal to linger over the *midnight cup*, pledged in a forced intimacy, or else to grace the board of an *artful hospitality*!'"

What does he mean, fellow-citizens? and to whom does he allude? You may say, "as the malignity of his card is directed against 'Mr. John Townsend,' it must be he, to whom he alludes in connection with the '*midnight cup*,' pledged in a forced intimacy, and an '*artful hospitality*.'"

If this be so, then I call upon those of you, fellow-citizens, who *know me well*, and *know me intimately*, to rebuke this foul-mouthed man, who has sent his atrocious slanders into the public prints, to be scattered over the world, co-extensively with the circulation of the Charleston Mercury. You *know* that those are scenes, which are not witnessed in my house, and that I am not a participator in them, at home or abroad. Is it "*artful hospitality*" and "forced intimacy" to give welcome and entertainment to the intelligent stranger, passing through our country; or to open our doors to neighbors and friends, to partake with us of our cheer? And shall I alone be condemned for fulfilling this social law of our country? True, unworthy persons sometimes obtrude themselves upon one's hospitality and abuse it; but who is responsible for this? the *host*, or the guests, in whom he has been deceived? My opponent, in uttering his slanders, seems to have himself become the *victim* of the "stealthy whisper of timid accusation and prudent inuendo;" and the largest mantle which charity can throw over his conduct, is, to suppose that he was led astray by the malicious falsehoods of other men, and under this delusion he has scattered, as if at random, his harsh and approbious insinuations.

I leave him, fellow-citizens, to your own just judgment.

With grateful recollections of your many favors, I remain, faithfully yours,

JOHN TOWNSEND.

BLEAK HALL, Sept. 21, 1858.

Mr. Bryan next made his appearance in the Mercury of the 29th September, in the following note to the editor :

[FOR THE MERCURY]

JOHN'S ISLAND, Sept. 29, '58.

MR. EDITOR : Will you permit me to say through your columns to those of my friends, and opponents, too, who may be expecting a reply to the two communications from Mr. John Townsend, that I will answer both communications in a way becoming to myself and deserved by him, as soon as I can receive a letter from the editor of the Southern Citizen, in whose paper it is plainly insinuated by him that I have written a certain article. I am, your obedient servant,

EDWARD B. BRYAN.

The other communication to which he here alludes was a letter written by me to the editor of the Mercury, on the 18th September, but by an accident which I have already explained, was not published until the 27th. It follows :

[FOR THE MERCURY.]

ST. JOHN'S COLLETON, }
Sept. 18, 1858. }

MR. EDITOR : A friend has just called my attention to the following paragraph, which appears in the "Southern Citizen" of Sept. 9—a paper published in Knoxville, Tenn. They purport to be taken from a letter dated "Charleston, September 1," but very probably written from this Parish :

"The slave trade party is a growing party in Charleston,

and, numbers some of the best names in South Carolina :

—————. King Orr says no man can go before the people of South Carolina on that question without a rebuke. Queer ! Does he know that E. B. Bryan and J. Townsend are running for the Senate in Colleton ?—both avowing the treason."

I am put here on the same platform of opinions with Mr. Bryan on the subject of the slave trade. This is a mistake. Mr. Bryan's opinions, as well as I can ascertain them on the subject, are, that the slave trade is right, proper and excellent in itself, and ought to be immediately re-opened. My opinions are, that whilst it cannot be condemned as piracy, or as a thing unchristian, immoral, or wrong in itself, it is not expedient or proper to re-open it, so far as this State is concerned, where the black population already out-numbers the whites by about 120,000—the whites, at the last census, being 274,563, whilst the colored population numbered 393,944.

It is very plain, Messrs. Editors, that there are three classes of opinions, at this time, on the subject of the slave trade. Two of these classes I have already indicated ; the third is composed of those who denounce it as a thing impolitic, dangerous, unchristian, immoral and atrocious. Against the condemnation of this class I have had occasion, several times, to defend the first. They condemn, because they appear to think that the Africans which are now brought here, are kidnapped free-men, which very naturally fills them with horror ; whereas I be-

lieve the fact to be, that they are only slaves changing masters; and entertaining that opinion, I can see no difference, in the point of morality, in buying a slave from an African slaveholder than from a Virginia or South Carolina slaveholder.

My intention, however, is, at present, not to enter into any elaborate exhibition of the reasons for my opinions, but merely to indicate my position on the subject. J. TOWNSEND.

This letter of Mr. Bryan, which was brought to me by mail on the 4th October, at the same time with the attack of one of his coadjutors, signed "A Constituent," published in the Mercury of the 2d October, I replied to on the 4th October, and published in the Mercury of the 8th. My reply to both is as follows :

*To the Citizens of St. John's,
Colleton :*

From the ominous tidings, indicating great preparations, which have been coming to us like the booming of distant cannon, from the other end of the parish, where my opponent, Mr. E. B. Bryan, resides, you have been, no doubt, looking out every day, for the last seven days, for a renewal of his late ferocious attack upon me in the public prints. You must be, then, greatly surprised when the mail to-day (Monday,) instead of bringing you his reply to me, brings a letter from him to the Editor of the Mercury, dated September 29th, informing "those who are expecting a

reply to my *two* communications to him (I did not know that I had written more than one), that he would answer both communications in a way becoming to himself, and deserved by me, as soon as *he can receive a letter from the Editor of the Southern Citizen*, in *whose paper* it is plainly insinuated by me, he says, that he had written a certain article."

Mr. Bryan is mistaken; I have written nothing in the Southern Citizen, and therefore I have made no insinuations in that paper, and I may add in no other, about him. He has *gratuitously assumed* to suspect that, in a short article dated Sept. 18th, and published in the Mercury of the 27th, I alluded to him, when I casually remarked that the article in the Southern Citizen was "very probably written from this parish." I suppose that this is the letter he alludes to, from the fact that it is the only one which I have written in which I have alluded at all to the "Southern Citizen." If so, then, fellow-citizens, I beg you to refer to my letter of the 18th Sept., and give it a careful perusal, and judge for yourselves whether there be any allusion to Mr. Bryan at all in it, and whether the allusion is such that anybody (except the most *captious*) should take offence at it. The object of my letter was simply to "indicate my position on the subject" of the renewal of the slave trade; and to correct a mistake which some writer to the Southern Citizen had made (who I thought was very probably from this parish,) in putting me on the same platform of

opinions with Mr. Bryan. In doing this, I stated very briefly what were my own opinions; what I supposed to be Mr. Bryan's, (in which I am not aware that I have done him any injustice,) and in what we differed from a third class; and closed my letter with scarcely a comment. This is the letter, I suppose, to which he has resorted for the purpose, in the first place, of seeking some occasion of finding fault with me and giving him something to fill up his reply with; and in the second place, (and this to the "Tactician" was doubtless his chief and leading reason,) to give him an excuse to *delay sending his reply* to the public prints, until it would be *too late for me to receive and answer it before the election*. To enable him to accomplish this, he has used it as an excuse to write to, and "receive a letter from the Editor of the Southern Citizen," residing in Knoxville, Tennessee, a distance, perhaps, of five hundred miles off. A telegraphic communication could have been made in half an hour. But a *letter* must be sent; and a *letter* received; which would consume days. Doubtless he had diligently consulted the mail arrangements for our parish, and discovered that the mail comes here now but twice a week, on Mondays and Wednesdays; and now the yellow fever is in Charleston, that there are from distant parts of the parish but very few private opportunities to and from the city. "The Tactician's" plan of operations against me was then formed. "I will not send my 'reply' for publication *before* Saturday;

because, in that case, Mr. Townsend will receive it by Monday's mail, and he may answer it *before* the election; and somehow, I don't like his answers as well as if he would let me dictate them. I doubt whether I ought to venture to trust my 'reply' in the Mercury even as early as Tuesday, for the mail might carry it, and he receive it at *midday* on Wednesday. And although that would give him time to prepare a *hurried answer*, which he could send and have printed before Saturday, still I shall have every advantage over him, as the citizens of the parish will have had my reply from Wednesday to Monday (the day of election,) to mislead them; whereas his answer will not arrive until *midday on Monday* of the day of election, after many of the votes will have been polled, under the influence of this, my second, attack upon him. Now, what shall I do? Shall I print before Tuesday, when the mail leaves Charleston, and so give him this *half* a chance of answering; or postpone it until after Tuesday, and give him *no chance* at all. 'To print, or not to print,' 'that's the question.' It is many a long and weary mile between John's Island and Knoxville. I wish my reply to have its own way before the election, in confirming the *wavering* all in my favor." Such, my fellow-citizens, are very probably the calculations of the "Tactician" in the present juncture of affairs. It is for you to decide how far you will allow him to succeed.

But as we are all, in the parish, interested in this reason,

which my opponent may give for postponing his reply to you, let us take a brief review of his position. He finds a letter of mine to the Editor of the Mercury (in the paper of the 27th), which does not allude to *him* in any way, and to no one else *offensively*. He *assumes* that it is meant for him, simply because I said that a certain article in the Southern Citizen was "very probably written from this parish." I did not denounce the article—in fact, I don't think I read the whole of it. I only wished to correct a *mistake* in it about Mr. Bryan's, and my own opinions *being the same* on the subject of the re-opening of the slave trade. He not only assumes that he must be considered the author, because I thought it probably written from the parish, but takes so much offence at it, *apparently*, as to write to the Editor of the Southern Citizen for a certificate, I suppose, (for I cannot conceive any other purpose,) to show that he was not the author.

Now, where was the *necessity* for this? None whatever; for I am sure that he has not fallen so much in my estimation or yours, fellow-citizens, as to have made it necessary for anything more than his *simple declaration* that he was not the author. Indeed, it was a matter of little consequence to me who was the author, as I charged him with nothing criminal, but with only making a *mistake* about my opinions on that subject. It seems scarcely credible to me that, in a case like this, when his *word* only was sufficient to remove any doubt, that a high

spirited man should resort to the testimony of another man, 500 miles off, to support his word, which had not been questioned, except as a "good Tactician," he thought himself justified in resorting to it, as a *stratagem*, (which *he* may suppose honorable in warfare) for the purpose of *delaying* a premeditated attack, which he calculated to make thereby, more effectual. This is the motive now thought by many to be the one which influenced my opponent in *waiting* "to receive a letter from the Editor of the Southern Citizen," before he would "answer my communication."

But in taking the position which he has done, that he *must* have been the person alluded to, my opponent, it would seem, would have us suppose that he is the *only man* out of one hundred and fifty in the Parish, (who can use a pen,) who *can indite* an article for the newspapers. The evidence of this mistake on his part we have in the Mercury of the 2d October, received by this day's mail, which contains a very earnest and plausible, but very fallacious attack upon me (which I shall notice presently,) signed "A Constituent." Why may not *he* assume to be the author as well? Or does my opponent intend to act out, here in the Parish, the character of some Errant "Knight of the Slave Trade," and, armed *cap-a-pie*, with lance in rest, and visor down, take to the highways and *pitch into* every passer-by, who may happen to whisper the word "slave trade," whether it be used in connection with his name or not!

I dismiss him now to his employment of answering me "in a way," as he says, "becoming himself and as deserved by me." What he deems "becoming him," we have a specimen of in the extraordinary "Card" in which he commenced his ferocious and unprovoked attack upon me, in the *public newspapers*; and what he thinks I deserve, may be seen also in that "Card;" *stale, old, letters, and transactions*, years past, and forgotten, but now revived, with the hope of exciting prejudices against my private character; misrepresentations of my public conduct, to prejudice me among those "who own no property;" and atrocious attacks upon my *private life* and *morals*, to prejudice me among the virtuous and the good. His threats give me no concern, except that his second attack may come *too late* to enable me to dissect and expose him *before* the *election*. Come when it may, however, with the help of God and the truth, I shall treat him as he deserves.

And now, fellow-citizens, bear with me a little longer, whilst I take in hand my *opponent's coadjutor*,* "A Constituent." He appears to think it very inconsistent in me to be in favor (as I was, and am still,) of the resolutions reported by our special committee of the Senate, which advocated the re-opening of the slave trade for the "slaveholding States," as a *whole* (or section of the United States,) and my "not deeming it *expedient* and proper, as far as this State (of South Carolina) is concerned." Is this so strange a thing that

he cannot comprehend it? Can he not comprehend that the several *parts* which constitute one great whole may be extremely diversified in circumstances and condition, so as to make that which would be very beneficial for some of the parts, not at all so for *one* of them. Now, what is it that would make the re-opening of the slave trade eminently beneficial to many of the slaveholding States? Why, the facts: 1st. That that peculiar kind of labor is so scarce and difficult to be obtained in those States. 2d. That they have immense tracts of waste land which can never be brought into cultivation without African slave labor suited to the climate. And 3d. That the whites considerably outnumber the slaves in many of those States; whilst in some they are twice, three times, four times, and six times as numerous as the slaves. And now, what makes it "inexpedient and improper to re-open it, *so far as South Carolina is concerned!*" Why, the entirely different state of things which exists here; where we have nearly three slaves, for every two whites. Does "A Constituent" think that if there were as great a disproportion of blacks to whites in the other slaveholding States, that he would find an advocate for the re-opening of the slave trade, south of Mason and Dixon's line? I am sure he would not; and that every slaveholding State in the Union would oppose it. If there were the same disproportion of slaves to whites in the other slaveholding States, Georgia, instead of hav-

* See Appendix for "A Constituent."

ing but 384,000, (I employ round numbers,) would have 781,000; Alabama, instead of having 345,000, would have 639,000; Texas, instead of having 58,000, would have 231,000; Arkansas, instead of 47,000, would have 243,000; Tennessee would have 1,134,000, instead of 245,000; Missouri would have 888,000, instead of 90,000; Mississippi would have 443,000, instead of 310,000; and so on with the rest of the slaveholding States. And the slaveholding States, all together, would have 9,080,000, instead of 3,093,092.

This estimate is made on the supposition, that the slaves in South Carolina, are as three to two whites, which is not precisely true; and, therefore, the ratio assigned to each of the States above enumerated is somewhat larger than it ought to be; but it approximates sufficiently near to illustrate my views. If, then, those States would not re-open the African slave trade, if they had the same disparity between their blacks and whites, as there exists in this State, why shall I be assailed for saying, that it is "not expedient or proper to re-open it, so far as this State is concerned?" If re-opened elsewhere in the South or South-west, the *reflex effect* (in keeping our slaves from being sent away) will give us all the advantages, in this State, which any reasonable man can desire.

Have any of you, fellow-citizens, ever taken the trouble to look over the census of the United States for 1850, with a view to ascertain the great disproportion between the white and colored population in the different slaveholding States? Such an

examination will bring with it one of the best reasons which can be offered, for the position which I take, to wit: that whilst the increase of slaves by importation from Africa, would be of great *benefit* to many of the Southern States, and to the whole of the slaveholding States as a *section* of the United States, yet it is not expedient and proper, so far as *South Carolina* is concerned, where the black population already out-number the whites by about one hundred and twenty thousand. If such a disproportion existed in *every* State, who doubts but the re-opening of the trade would be opposed in *every* State? But that disproportion does not exist, and therefore my reason for concurring in the resolutions of our special committee of the Senate. Be pleased to examine the following table:

TABLE.

STATES.	Excess of White Population.	Excess of Colored Population.
<i>South Carolina</i> { White.....274,563.....		
Col'd.....393,944.....		119,381
<i>Georgia</i> { White.....521,572.....		
Colored.....314,109.....	136,950	
<i>Alabama</i> { White.....426,514.....		
Colored.....345,109.....	81,405	
<i>Mississippi</i> { White.....255,718.....		
Colored.....310,808.....		15,090
<i>Louisiana</i> { White.....255,491.....		
Colored.....262,271.....		6,780
<i>Texas</i> { White.....154,030.....		
Colored.....58,558.....	95,476	
<i>Arkansas</i> { White.....162,189.....		
Colored.....47,708.....	114,481	
<i>Tennessee</i> { White.....756,836.....		
Colored.....245,881.....	510,955	
<i>Missouri</i> { White.....592,002.....		
Colored.....90,040.....	501,962	
<i>Kentucky</i> { White.....761,000.....		
Colored.....220,000.....	541,000	
<i>North Carolina</i> { White.....553,000.....		
Col'd.....316,000.....	237,000	
<i>Florida</i> { White.....47,203.....		
Colored.....40,243.....	6,960	
<i>Maryland</i> { White.....417,000.....		
Colored.....165,000.....	252,000	
<i>Virginia</i> { White.....894,800.....		
Colored.....526,861.....	367,939	

Now you will perceive by the above table, that South Carolina stands *alone* in the great disparity which exists within her borders of slaves over the whites; which should seem to make it proper, that she should not have the same rules applied to her. There are but two other States where the colored population outnumber the whites, and that by very insignificant figures, i. e. Louisiana, by only 6,000, and Mississippi, 15,000; whereas, in all the other States, the whites outnumber the blacks; and some very largely, according to the following figures in (round numbers:) 136,000, 81,000, 95,000, 114,000, 510,000, 501,000, 541,000, 368,000, 252,000, 237,000. Many of these States are large and fertile, and greatly need labor, suitable to their climate, to develop their resources; and as "I do not think the slave trade can be condemned as piracy, or unchristian, immoral, or wrong in itself," if they see fit to re-open it, I have not the smallest objection to their doing so. If they do, *they will be supplied from Africa with the labor which they want; and the tide of emigration of our slaves thitherward, will cease, or flow back upon us, and we shall have an abundant supply of negroes, well trained, civilized, and accustomed to our work; whilst the States elsewhere (especially in the west and southwest) will have the Barbarians, ignorant and savage, to train and instruct.* Can any man doubt that the policy which I am in favor of is the *best*; except he deny that slaves are not needed any where in the slaveholding States, and that the supply should not be furnished from the only place

where they can be obtained, and that is, from Africa?

But, fellow-citizens, how barren and unprofitable, is all this whole *controversy* about re-opening the African slave trade! It is prohibited, as you all know, by *Act of Congress*, passed in pursuance of authority conferred on them by the constitution; and if every slaveholding State in the Union were *united* for its repeal, you know it cannot be accomplished, owing to the overwhelming majority *against* it. The only way, then, to effect the object of obtaining cheap negroes, is for us to *break up the Union*, and so do it *lawfully*; or to do it (in the Union) *in defiance of law*. In our present posture in the Union, it must be merely a *speculative* question, which we may *discuss* with a view to exhibit our opinions to the world, and so *act upon public sentiment elsewhere*; and in which one man, and another, may like to have his position indicated, so as not to be misunderstood. I have done this for myself. But before I take leave of the subject, I give it as my opinion, that, except in the two modes just mentioned, neither I, nor my opponent, (and he is a much younger man than I am,) will ever see the day when "his writings," or any other exertions of his, in the cause, will result in the success which I see claimed for it by way of *enticing men to its support*;—and that is, that negroes will be reduced in price to \$200 and \$300, or even to \$500, as their market value! It is a *gross delusion* practiced upon the people, to promise, or *hold out* this—for *disappointment*

is inevitable! We may *desire* it—we may *vote for* it—we may get the whole State unanimous for it; nay, more, we may suppose (what is not at all probable,) that the *whole South* can be brought to favor it:—but *the decision of the question is with other, and hostile men*. Why have we not made Kansas a slave State? The idea then entertained by “A Constituent,” of “Mr. Bryan’s *compelling government to repeal* the laws, which rest like an incubus on the prosperity and development of the agricultural States,” is simply ridiculous! *A minority, compelling a majority, resolutely opposed to the policy!* Is “A Constituent” demented?

If, then, the South have not strength enough in Congress, to *repeal* the laws prohibiting the African slave trade, how can it be re-opened, except, as I have just said, by a *dissolution of the Union*, or in *defiance of the laws*? In one or the other of these two ways, and in no other, can the promise of buying cheap negroes be fulfilled. And it is in this light, that our people should make up their minds to look the question in the face; and not give heed to those enthusiasts who promise them cheap negroes, in a *lawful way*; and this to take place in their lifetime.

“A Constituent” is justly chargeable with unworthy disingenuousness, in putting my name

to the report of the Special committee; and I would inquire who perpetrated the forgery for him; when my name is not on the record, either on the manuscript, or on any of the printed reports? * Why did he not complete the unworthy act, and add Colonel Chesnut’s name also; for he was also on the committee? Was it done to make it appear, that I sanctioned *everything* in that report, and adopted it as my own, with a view to add venom to the charge that I have done “as a senator and as a member of the committee,” what I now reject “as a planter and a candidate for office?” Is “A Constituent” so *green* in parliamentary usage, or thinks you so ignorant, as to suppose that he can persuade you that every member of a committee is considered as approving every line, sentence or paragraph in the report, which the *chairman* presents?

Whilst I approved of the general scope and reasoning of the report, and especially of the part which argued that the slave trade was not *piracy*, there were several paragraphs which, if called upon to vote on separately, I would not have assented to. “A Constituent” has selected one of them—that alluding to South Carolina—which, in *the sense he gives it*, I do not assent to. The chairman alone is considered responsible for the *whole*

*Since writing the above, I have ascertained that numerous copies of the Report of the “Special Committee of the Senate, on the subject of the Slave Trade,” were printed last winter by a private printer in Charleston; and many copies of this reprint, *with my name signed to the Report*, have been circulated about the Parish. I have also ascertained recently, that Mr. E. B. Bryan *had these copies printed*: and we have therefore to infer, that it was by *his agency*, that my name was added. I need not say, that it was done without my knowledge, authority or consent; and that the *genuine* copies, published by authority of the *Senate*, have not, my name signed to the Report.

of his report. It is *his* reasoning, *his* argument; and it is commonly left to him to defend it. As I had every confidence in our chairman, and knowing that he could take good care of his own, I did not think it worth while, in the committee, to carp at a few paragraphs which did not exactly express my own opinions, and especially as the proposition was not engrafted in any one of the *resolutions*. To understand this matter properly, it is necessary to examine the *whole* report—but especially the *resolutions*. It is a well argued paper to show the advantages of re-opening the African slave trade to the *slaveholding States* (as a section of the United States,) having interests peculiar to itself; and next, to show that the slave trade is not *piracy*. It was not argued at all, as a *South Carolina* question; but, as one for “all the Southern States,” and especially for the “*new States*, where millions of acres of the richest soil lie uncultivated, &c.,” and when *South Carolina* is alluded to, it is as if her case is a sort of exception to the rest of the States—“*Even* in *South Carolina*, one of the oldest of the slaveholding States, where our territory is more fully occupied,” &c.

In *one* point of view, “A Constituent” seems to understand that the chairman, or writer of a report, is the one responsible for every part of it, and not the whole, or *each one* of the committee; for, in order to fix upon *me* an equal responsibility, he has my name forged to the paper, to make it appear that the report and resolutions were written by Mr. Mazyck and myself,

jointly. Now the work was Mr. Mazyck’s alone, and he only deserves the credit of it. He was not only capable of writing it, but something better if he tried. But to hold *each* member of a committee responsible for every opinion expressed in a report from their chairman, betrays an ignorance of parliamentary usage, and the nature of a *report*. What, then, is a report? Why nothing more than a sort of preamble or preface to the *resolutions* which are reported. Now the *resolutions*, are the things which are debated in the body, to which they have been reported; it is upon *them* the vote is taken; and if they be adopted, it very often happens that the report is laid on the table, and no vote taken on it;—for a Senate may be sometimes very willing to adopt the conclusions, (or resolutions,) of a committee; but for very *different reasons* from those given by the chairman in his report. It is, then, the *resolutions* which are supposed to express the opinions of a committee, and even to this there are many exceptions, when a committee do not entirely concur in every part of the resolutions, but agree to let their chairman report them, leaving it to him to defend them.

I do not say that this was the case with me, in the resolutions from our special committee. I approved of them, and do so still. I think that the proposition contained in each resolution can be maintained as true. But it must be observed, and the fact kept constantly before the mind, that the question is argued as one belonging to the “*slaveholding States*,” and not as a *South Car-*

olina question. The following are the resolutions; examine them attentively, as proving this :—

1. *Resolved*, That the chief and almost entire productive industry of the SLAVEHOLDING STATES is agriculture, to the successful prosecution of which the labor of negro slaves is indispensably necessary.

2. *Resolved*, That there is a great and growing deficiency of agricultural labor in the SAID STATES, which the natural increase of the slave population is inadequate to supply.

3. *Resolved*, That the effect of prohibiting the importation of slaves from abroad is to limit the expansion of the productive industry of the SAID States, and of the population which that industry sustains to the ratio of the natural increase of the slave population.

4. *Resolved*, That the importation of slaves from abroad would accelerate the development of the agricultural resources of the SLAVEHOLDING STATES, and promote their progress in wealth, population and general improvement; and that such importation, carried on under proper regulations, would not be inconsistent with the principles of justice and humanity.

5. *Resolved*, That the effect of an entire suppression of the African slave trade would be to confine the negroes to their own country, and preclude them from such means of relief from the pressure of a redundant population, as might be afforded by emigration in the only form in which its benefits can be extended to them.

6. *Resolved*, That the Act of

Congress declaring the African slave trade to be piracy, if it be understood as affirming that it is piracy in the nature of things and in the sense of the constitution, affirms what is untrue; and inasmuch as it purports and intends to convert into piracy what is not so in the nature of things and in the sense of the constitution, the said act is unconstitutional, null and void.

(Signed)

ALEXANDER MAZYCK,
Chairman.

Now, having previously shown that the condition of all the *slaveholding States* differs so widely from that of South Carolina in that important feature of the great disparity of her black and white population; and that the resolutions refer to the *slaveholding States* as a *whole*, and not to South Carolina especially, there is left no foundation for the charge of "inconsistency" or "fickleness of mind," if I have approved of resolutions which may be applicable to them, but which I think inexpedient when applied to her. A general policy which may be advantageous to a family of States, as a whole, may not be proper to be applied to one of them, owing to great difference in condition. This we may safely be assured of, that whenever *that day shall come*, when the slave trade shall be lawfully revived, South Carolina will share in the benefits (in the way I have described) without the necessity of importing one of the *savages* within our borders.

But how *useless*, fellow-citizens, let me repeat again, is all this discussion and wrangling

about the "slave trade," its benefits, or its disadvantages. It is an illustration of the folly of the couple, of whom the anecdote is told, who quarreled and separated about the *name* of the child, when none ever was born! And such will be our folly, *and guilt* if we allow divisions in society about a traffic, which can never arise, *until* the act of Congress prohibiting it shall be repealed.

Believe me, faithfully yours,
J. TOWNSEND.
Bleak Hall, Oct. 4th, 1858.

It must be noticed here in giving the facts of this controversy, that the author of the letter to the "Southern Citizen" avowed himself in the Mercury of the 1st October: thus relieving Mr. Bryan of all the responsibility which he had so unnecessarily *assumed* on the subject; and so leaving him without any, the smallest, excuse, for *delaying* his threatened attack upon me. It was not, however, until the 6th of October, that he sent forth his second missile—abounding in charges, the grossness of which you will perceive by reading the following:

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

*To the People of St. John's,
Colleton:*

You have, I suppose, seen Mr. Townsend's letter in the Mercury of the 25th September. I will reply to some of his attempts at argument, but must confess my inability to cope with him in language—not be-

ing versed in his vocabulary. "I am considerably in his debt, and shall endeavor, once for all, to balance the account."

I wish to call your attention only to *some* of his remarks; the most select among them I leave unnoticed and unheeded, feeling assured that your generosity, while viewing them with pity, will bestow upon them the silence of charity. I claim at your hands a dispassionate view of the issue between us, and ask only an impartial judgment *according to the evidence*. You know the case; I have consented to, *not sought*, a nomination for the Senate. As I understand representative government, the object of elections is to secure to the people the high prerogative of choosing their public officers. In this choice, under the constitution of our State, every free white man, being a citizen, has a voice. Many among you have twice chosen me for the House of Representatives, and now request me to represent you in the Senate. I have yielded to your wish. This is the "head and front of my offending," in view of which I cheerfully repose upon your decision. "The just man walketh in his integrity."

Before proceeding, allow me to say that the gentlemen whose names are so frequently and complimentarily mentioned and alluded to by your Senator, in connection with what he calls his "election letter," had no part in its publication. I am responsible, not they. His strictures concerning them do not concern me. They are capable of defending themselves.

Behold now your Senator :

He undertakes to judge and condemn *my* motive in publishing his letter; you can judge and condemn *his* in writing it. "He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it."

I told you in my former card that I am not the first political opponent whose character he has endeavored to injure. I wished to make good my assertion. I adduced that letter as *proof*. I judge from his publication, it is proof *conclusive*. What had *he* to do with the matter? When *character* is involved, it is best for third parties to keep aloof, except it be to make peace; but by no means sow dissension. He went out of his way to injure Mr. Grimball. I have only undertaken to defend myself against his aspersions, and if I use his weapons he should not have the weakness to complain.

Is he ashamed to have his "election" letters published? Why write them then? Does he write or *say* one thing in private, and another in public, concerning the *character* of his neighbors? "A whisperer separateth chief friends."

Your Senator says he has been anxious to avoid a *strife* about *men*; that means, as you all understand, anxious to avoid having *opposition*. You know the history of every election in the precinct for the last twelve years, and the part *he* has taken in them; you therefore can say whether in seeking to avoid strife he has observed the injunction, "Go not forth hastily to strive, lest thou know not what to do in the end thereof

when thy neighbor hath put thee to shame."

Read what he is pleased to call his "defence," and you will perceive the peaceful calm of his bosom. "Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry."

Your Senator affirms that no such rumor as I have alluded to has been circulated, yet he admits it may be probable certain expressions took the form I object to. Do *you* not *know* that such a rumor, and others, too, have circulated, and that *he* would joyfully receive any precarious benefit arising out of an injury to me? "In public affairs, my fellow-citizens, cunning, let it be ever so well wrought, will not conduct a man honorably through life. It cannot consist with a liberal spirit, though it be sometimes united with extraordinary qualifications."

Your Senator weeps over my consenting to be a candidate after having once refused. Is this doing a wrong to him? Is there not now a gentleman of the highest respectability and character a candidate for the House, who has likewise changed his decision? And does your Senator weep over *his* acceptance, or charge *him* with having "disappointed public expectation?" "He never weeps, but, like an April shower, with a lambent ray of sunshine upon his countenance."

Your Senator complains that, in accepting your nomination, I have "disappointed public expectation." Doubtless I have disappointed his. But examine his career in 1832 and in 1851, and say whether *he* then disappointed public expectation in

seeking and receiving your confiding suffrages. He sets no value on what he calls the trifling concerns of our little Parish and the "obscure men" who figure in it; judge, then, why he so *constantly* seeks to *serve* it, and appeals with so much anxiety for *their* "obscure" suffrages. *His* elevation may, indeed, reflect lustre upon *your* obscurity; *if so*, he is disinterested and even charitable. "His zeal for your service is superior to neglect and thrives by PERSECUTION!!"

He complains of having "enemies," and seems to deplore their "hostility." Now it has occurred to me that it is singular he should be so afflicted with "enemies." Is a man his "enemy" because he votes against him? That would be a new doctrine. But how comes it that he has so many enemies? Do they seek him out to build up enmity against him, or does he himself incur it? He voluntarily enters into elections. He writes "election" letters, injurious to the character of gentlemen, and then complains of "enemies." It may be that the very fact of opposing his election amounts to "persecution." But the laws of the land and the custom of free countries allow such opposition. It is, therefore, both lawful and customary, and hence not a ground for complaint. If, indeed, the office *belonged* to him, it would be wrong to try to oust him, as the law terms it, but that would not be "persecution"—it would be trespass; for which he could bring you, my fellow-citizens, before any court of competent jurisdiction for damages. The

tone of his letter would lead to the belief that he is a "persecuted man" because you chose to think for yourselves and nominate an opposing candidate. And he does not hesitate to call all who support me his enemies. I take a different view. I believe I have *very few* enemies among you. I know of none but himself, and never suspected *him* till he concluded to crush me. I know you to be an amiable, peaceful and Christian community, and I know that such of you as support him do it in the proper spirit of freemen in the exercise of their highest prerogative. I do not regard *you* "my enemies," fellow-citizens, however your judgment may lead you to vote. *We are friends*, and time and events will prove it. If your Senator is correct in his estimate of the number of his "enemies," the difference between us may lie in this;—I endeavor to make friends among you; he, according to his own showing, has succeeded in making a moiety of you his "enemies." Is that my fault? or yours? or his?

Your Senator says my ambition is "inordinate," because I have reluctantly consented to be *your* candidate; you can measure *his* ambition by his persistence in aspiring to the same office, and, as you know is currently believed, a *higher one*. "The road to honor is open to his view. He will not lose it by mistake, and he has no temptation to depart from it by design." When I am "crushed" he will tell you, like another Brutus, that as I loved him he wept; when I was fortunate he rejoiced, but as I was

ambitious, he slew me—WITH A GOOSE QUILL!

Your Senator says he has *embraced every opportunity* to promote my political and pecuniary interests. You *know* this is *not true*; for you must remember *his* efforts against me in 1854, when I was first a candidate for the House of Representatives, and ventured to express my dissent to his political course and opposition to his election, a dissent and opposition I have never changed. Excuse him, however. His remark is only one of those which he acknowledges he sometimes "*throws off in the hurry and excitement of a political canvass.*" The following correspondence among abundant evidence, will show that his assertion was only a thoughtless error; for you know, he says, "Four years, fellow-citizens, is a long time for any one to remember all the letters he has written," still less can "*any one*" remember all the words he has uttered in an electioneering ride. Some, however, have better memory than others, according, perhaps, "*to the hurry and excitement*" of the *occasion*, or of the *horses*, in rushing to the polls:

(EXTRACT.)

ROCKVILLE, July 26, 1858.

Dear Sir: * * * "Permit me to remind you that in a previous election I had it in my power to have defeated you, on account of a remark against Mr. Townsend; when **URGED** to do so, I rejected all advice, and voted for you." Yours, respectfully,

(Signed.)

DANIEL J. LAROCHE.

To Mr. E. B. BRYAN.

Who it was that "*urged*" this gentleman to "*defeat*" me is explained in the following extract:

JOHN'S ISLAND, Sept. 29, 1858.

Dear Sir: * * * "I saw Mr. D. J. LaRoche this morning, who says Mr. Townsend tried at that election to induce him to vote against you, on account of a remark you had made."

(Signed) W. S. MURRAY.

To Col. E. B. BRYAN.

Is this *embracing every opportunity*? My fellow-citizens, your Senator has *deliberately* ventured a statement in the public prints, which is disproved by *the lips of his own kinsman and friend*. He has never had but two opportunities to "*embrace*," to promote my political interests, viz.: at the general election in 1854 and in 1856. On the former occasion, you see above his very decided efforts to "*promote*" me; it matters not *why*—that does not change the case. On the latter occasion *I had no opposition*, and he kindly voted for me. I lay no charge against him—his letter bears more than one evidence of having been hastily written. He probably, at that time, forgot the scenes of 1854, and just "*threw off*" to the world, as evidence of my *ingratitude* to him, and his patronizing care of me, this disproved statement, "*in the hurry and excitement of this canvass.*" He would call me an ingrate; I have proved him—what?

Your Senator says I sought after a lucrative office in the Legislature two or three years ago. He refers, I presume, to the superintendency of the new State House. I was chairman

of the committee on matters relating to that building. I discharged my duty to the satisfaction of all. The Legislature had determined to elect a superintendent of the work. I was one of the few in Columbia who had been, to a limited extent, educated to the profession of engineering and architecture, and for *that* reason many of my friends put me in nomination a few days previous to the election. This is a simple statement of the case; but if your Senator intends to *make good his statement* that I *sought* the office, in the sense which *he* wishes to convey, he must *produce the names of the members of the Legislature whose votes*, he would have you to believe, *I asked for*. Is *his* among the number? Suppose, however, I did seek a lucrative office. Was I wrong? Does blame attach to every gentleman in South Carolina who seeks or holds a lucrative office under the State government? And if I did wrong, *he* did wrong in sustaining me as he says he did, and he did *you* wrong in not exposing to you my wrong doing *at the time*, and in *delaying till now*. You can understand his motive in the apparently inadvertent allusion he now makes. His memory seems good for three years at all events. I understand the point of his allusion:—it is to make some of you believe that I am seeking pecuniary preferment in the Legislature; but it is too pitiable for discussion. *His charity to me*, verily, begins at Columbia and ends at home:

"So wise, so grave, of so perplexed a tongue;"
 "And LOUD withal."

Your Senator denies having expressed an intention to "crush" me. His words are, "I have never said so." Read the following note and judge for yourselves whether I stand impeachable as having told you "a thing unworthy of credit:"

LEGAREVILLE, Sept. 29th, 1858.

My Dear Sir: In reply to your inquiry concerning Mr. John Townsend's conversation with me in Charleston, when he called on me in relation to the election in July last, I repeat to you what I then mentioned, that before the close of his visit he said to me that "*he regretted your coming out for the Senate, for he would have to crush you in this election.*" I have a distinct recollection of the words, and repeated them to several within a few days after they were spoken.

I am, very truly,

Your friend,

THOMAS ROPER.

To Col. E. B. BRYAN.

Here is another little matter carelessly "thrown off" to the Mercury, "in the hurry and excitement of a political canvass." Nevertheless, you see his expressed intention to "crush" your candidate, *because he consented to be your candidate*, is made patent, in the face of his assertion that he "never said so." But your good sense will tell you it is *opposition* he seeks to crush. It is the people, the "obscure men" he has been representing eight years, not I, who are to be ground under the millstone of his ponderous weight. I claim that, in justice, I, who am merely the "tool," as he handsomely observes, ought to

be spared. And I confidently appeal to you to deliver me from his wrath—"the king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion." I don't seek to be restored to his favor—"the king's favor is as a dew upon the grass;" the morning comes and it vanishes away. It is for you to say whether he shall be made to respect the will of the people in all things. And while visions of executive honor amuse his fancy, or if a martial spirit should come over his dream of fame, and the panoply of reviews and brilliant staffs illuminate the picture, it is for *you*, not me, to remind him that *there stand the people* in whom is all power vested, and whom his pandects on *his* art of "party warfare" cannot crush. That he did and does intend to "crush" me, *if he can*, is made patent also in his course, both in the newspapers and elsewhere. But what a mighty work to crush "*this poor young man!*" "A *great* operation, directed to an *important* object, though it should fail of success, marks the genius and elevates the character of a *Senator*," who should have remembered in the visit alluded to that "whoso breaketh a hedge a serpent shall bite him." Your Senator intimates that I am the "tool" of the "obscure men," viz: the people—his faithful commoners—and to him this appears to be unpardonable. On the other hand, I think it a virtue to be their "tool" if I agree with them in their political views. *In this respect* your Senator and myself stand in bold contrast. I acknowledge the right of the people to instruct their representatives, as a cardinal element

in the theory of representative government; *he*, as you all know, has signally repudiated it. I am willing to be your "tool," as long as our sentiments accord; *he* seeks to make *you his*. Let us entertain the pleasing hope that he may yet be induced, however reluctantly, to "indulge the people,"

Your Senator says I am receiving my reward for not taking part in the local controversy of one of your islands. Verily, I shall prove, from his own contradictory pen, that I merit the reward. But at whose hands am I receiving it? If the people give it, how dares he dispute it? He avows, in his pandect, that he has left me to your own just judgment, and yet he is distressed, if not *angered*, at the reward! Can it be because you will not "pipe" for him to "dance?" You must see, at a glance, the contradictory position he assumes. He contends, with his own peculiar emphasis, too voluminous for me to quote, that certain persons residing on one part of Edisto Island ought not to tax others living on another; yet he blames *me*, who lives at the other extremity, not of that Island, but of the whole precinct, for not doing the same thing. I own no more property on that Island than the overseers and mechanics to whom he objects. You all know that the north and south sides of the North Edisto river are taxed for their roads and bridges respectively, and not collectively. Now, why should I, who live on the north side, tax those who live on the south side of the river? Many of you remember that when the ques-

tion was submitted to the Commissioners of Roads, several members, besides myself, on the north side of the river, declined voting, and had "*nothing to do*" with the issue." Did he *then*, or has he *since*, stigmatized *them* for not taking sides, as he has so vulgarly done me in his letter? His error lies, perhaps, more in taste than intention—for some men mistake insolent vulgarity for biting sarcasm, or at least mother wit.

Your Senator *admits* that he "*objected*" to the "*signatures*" of some overseers who owned no property in the parish. Now, if I understand the language we speak in this country, to object to a man's signing a petition means to object to his petitioning—for the only lawful evidence of a petition is the "*signature*" of the petitioner; and if objecting before a committee of the Legislature to a petitioner's signing a petition is not attempting to deprive him of the *benefit of the right of petitioning*, you must ask your learned Senator what it is. He *denies* having made the attempt. I *re-affirm* that he *did*. You have my understanding of his words. Besides, if a citizen, *under any given circumstance*, has no right to petition, the legislature clearly has no right to grant the petition; this is the accepted doctrine of our government, and that being the case, no individual member of the legislature has such right. How, then, according to this premise of your learned Senator, can he blame me for not doing what *his own logic* shows I had no right to do? Blackstone's remark *applies* here, "Let the honorable gentleman,

instead of shaking his head, shake a good argument out of it."

Your Senator cannot understand the connection between the right of petitioning and the right of voting. The first is the natural, inalienable right of freemen; the second is a right granted—a *franchise*. I regard them as the two highest civil privileges of the American citizen. The right of petitioning is even a dearer and a higher, though a less availing right, than the right of suffrage; it extends to *all*—in all countries. Women, children and aliens can petition; they cannot vote. The subjects of the Russian Czar can lay their petition at his feet. Even the poorest beggar can petition the great Law-giver of the universe, yet *he*, your Senator, objects to the overseers and non tax-payers of Edisto Island petitioning the law-givers of South Carolina. If the greater right is objected to, there is no inconsistency in objecting to the smaller. I do not charge your Senator with holding the latter objection; he certainly never would, *pending an election*; but I do say that the solicitude which fails in one instance, is not logically reliable in the other. The convict can petition for clemency, but *you* are questioned for petitioning for what you think you have a right to ask. I repeat, without fear of blame from any one of you, that I deliberately and persistently refused to have anything to do with the local controversy in question. This is styled a "*cunning policy*" by an opponent whom you are aware is *without guile*! He pretends to divining

men's motives by his own standard. *His* in this instance I have no power to read, but I point him to the Searcher of hearts: "*There sits a judge, whom no king can corrupt.*"

Before leaving this part of your Senator's letter, I must say that my recollection of the affair is a little different from his. He conveys the idea that the petition in question (1855) proposed to tax the whole of Edisto Island, notwithstanding a company of gentlemen were engaged in another enterprise. I presented all of the petitions to the House of Representatives, and as well as I can remember, no company was incorporated *at the time* the petitions were presented, and that it was at *that* session the company was incorporated. At the *next* session, I believe, the petitioners proposed to *exempt the company* from the tax, upon the ground that they had then become incorporated. I am not certain on these points, being, as your Senator happily expresses it, *a nothing-to-do with-it-man*. Any of you, however, who were or are interested, can refer to the *second* petition, and satisfy yourselves whether or not your Senator's recollections of dates and circumstances is perfectly clear.

Your Senator says there are no public measures before the country, involving political principles. Exceedingly well informed he is, forsooth! or it may be he supposes you, "the obscure men who figure in" this "little parish," are mere simpletons. Without going beyond the limits of our own State (as I read the indications of the day,) I venture to predict that

we are on the eve of a political contest which will shake her to the centre, and will put *him* to his trumps to "*take sides*" and get the Governorship at the same time, if in truth he aspires to it. He denounces me for avoiding "taking sides" in your local controversy on one Island, involving private rights, with which I had no concern; let him tell you and the public whether he is a *States Rights man*, and *make* him give you *his* meaning, for I fear he has a way of viewing some political principles in a Townsending sense. Does he think as he did in 1832, and in 1851, and in 1855, when *he* voted to change the electoral law, and thereby to deprive you of a part of your power in Presidential elections, and at the same time take the initial step to giving the election of electors to the people? I do not believe there is one among you who does not know *my side* of politics: if any, it is your own fault. My record is made. With regard to his, I admit you have room for speculation whenever you discover that "*panegyric* is exhausted."

Your Senator says the hostility evinced in my card proves that I intend to crush *him*. If you have read his epistle you will readily see, from the bland suavity, mild diction, meek resignation and Christian amiability therein evinced, that it is impossible he can have such friendly intentions towards me, although he *has* avowed it. *Yet*, since he is persuaded to believe that I have such intention I take this occasion to make "*the amende honorable*" in the words of the great dramatist:

"O, pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth!"

Your Senator takes the liberty of characterizing me very freely, and with a liberal desire to compliment, says I am a man of education and character, yet he speaks of my coarse attacks, atrocious slanders, unfounded assertions, and uses that very naughty word (which I will not put in print again,) in urging you to "rebuke" me. If this is *his* standard of character it must be low, indeed, and his school of education somewhere on the purlieus of Billingsgate. His letter is divided into a defence of his own character and an attack upon mine. Had he been content with the former I should cheerfully have left him to the results of his lame attempt. "But anger has some claim to indulgence, and railing is usually a relief to the mind. I hope he has found benefit from the experiment."

Your Senator speaks of "*these* Parish questions," and "*our* Parish questions." He cannot mean the Edisto landing question; for he distinctly dwells on the point that they were "local," "sectional," *in* the Parish, and therefore not concerning *all* the Parish. It was an *Edisto* question, not a "*Parish* question." He cannot mean the Pendleton question; you all know the merits of *that*. Perhaps he means the question of changing the electoral law. *That* had a bearing upon the "Parishes." You may have forgotten his course then. *He* voted to change that law; I voted and spoke and wrote against changing it. As the law stands, there are about 170 votes on joint bal-

lot in the Legislature. Out of these, your precinct is entitled to three—one Senator and two Representatives—giving you about one-fifty-sixth part of the strength of the State in a Presidential election. He voted to deprive the Senate of the right of participating in that election, and had he succeeded your strength would have been reduced from one in fifty-six to one in sixty-two; and at the next apportionment, if you should happen to be entitled to but one Representative, which is not improbable, your strength would be but one in one hundred and twenty-four. I and your other Representative at the time, voted and exerted ourselves against the change; and I leave you to judge whether I performed my duty, *if*, indeed, *this* is one of the Parish questions alluded to. He will, doubtless, attempt to *explain* this on the score of "compromise." Many good Parish men he will tell you, voted for it; but in a matter of right, of principle, and of high public interest and duty, I recognize no ground for compromise. On that and all other "Parish questions" which have come before the Legislature since my membership, it is known that I am regarded as rather an "extremist." I stand upon the State Constitution (and the electoral law,) *as it is*, and there will I remain and "keep my powder dry." Yet your compromising Senator presumes to insinuate that I, in avoiding what he himself calls a "purely local and sectional" contest on Edisto Island, have neglected a high public trust, and adds another

inuendo that I did so to become "*popular*." Popular with whom? Of a truth, it seems I became popular with *him*! This local contest began in 1855, and yet, instead of *discountenancing* my alleged *breach of duty*, by not voting for the man whom he *now* insinuates was recreant to his trust, he, that *very session* tells you he voted for me for a "lucrative office;" and the next year, here, at home, openly among you, and without exposing me to you, *voted for me to return to the alleged theatre of my recreancy*. Why did he so? Where, *then*, was that "silent testimony" he appeals to? Where, indeed?

I am not ashamed, my fellow-citizens, to refer you, on this point, to my speech on the occasion, as enlarged and published in the Mercury of January, 1856. With regard to the object of the proposed change, I then cautioned you that it was erroneous. Some of the advocates of the measure told us candidly it was no compromise. With regard to its effect, I urged that "there is but a single step from the members of the House of Representatives to the people who elect them," and that to give the election to the House, and exclude the Senate, would only be a stride toward giving it to the people altogether. I urged, further, that "it would be a political blunder, unprecedented in the history of modern representative government, to destroy the equilibrium of political power between two branches of a legislature in so important a particular as this." I *demonstrated* that the proposed change would reduce the

seaboard districts in those elections (exclusive of Charleston city,) *at least forty per cent.*, and declared that "I, for one, could never consent to this." I then said, and now repeat, "I would regard any change of the kind but the beginning of a series of political calamities which our State could not survive in her present purity." And while your two Representatives were struggling with, and grappling with all the power of their humble abilities, the hydra-headed foe of innovation, where was your Senator? In the other end of the Capitol, *compromising*. A compromise which, had it been effected, would have proved the death knell of the Parishes. And in 1860, which will be a *crisis year* in this State, you would have seen the people of South Carolina gathering at the hustings around a DOUGLAS or an ORR. And *he is the man who dares* to tell you that I have neglected the trust your confidence reposes in me—JUDGE! I have exposed to you the audacity, both to *me* and to *you*, of his shallow artifices; but let him weep over them—I leave you to dry his tears. Let that "silent testimony" lead him to bless God that he is "not as other men are; * * * *even as this publican*."

Your Senator ventures upon the monstrous, assertion that scarcely one year has elapsed since I thought him fit for his office. God forbid! With all my errors, I have never fallen into that delusion. This astonishing announcement may be charitably classed with the others that he has merely "thrown off

in the hurry and excitement" he seems to be so constantly in. But if I ever was so mistaken, and all of you were similarly deluded, does *that* preclude others from being equally, if not more fit? In this part of his toothless effort at sarcasm, your witty Senator seems resolved upon conducting me to the block without benefit of clergy.

In what is already adduced, he stands convicted of more than one little matter he has "thrown off" in his usual hurry and excitement. For three months, including the "dog days"—to which he alludes with such profound wit—has he gathered from the flowers at morn and the flowers at eve; he has laid up his store, and now, in his "*alas!*" paragraph he becomes pathetic, and combines their sweets "till their united virtue tortures the sense."

This pathetic appeal refers, I presume, from some glimmerings in it, to a conversation he and I once had. I have twice, during my acquaintance with your Senator, had the misfortune to hold a private conversation—*that is*, a conversation without a third party to hear and *remember* what passed. I admit the temerity of my venture. But as the issue now stands between us, I think I have a right to call for *proof* to some of the little matters "thrown off" in this paragraph, at least until the other little matters already mentioned as having been merely "thrown off" for the occasion are *thrown on*. I will only say, that I have never given him any reason to *believe* he requires now to say that I thought him fit for the office he clings to so valiant-

ly, and that I have never made him any proposition of the kind he mentions. I did, on one occasion, inquire his intentions, and even put hypothetical cases to him, but nothing further. As to his little flourish about the offices of the Parish belonging to the people, I think, and most of you will agree with me, he has long forgotten *that*, and has only been reminded of it at a recent date. This involves his memory.

Your Senator admits his memory is not good. I leave you to decide whether it is bad, indifferent or convenient.

Your Senator objects to my "hauling him" into the newspapers, because he thinks the rumor which has been the origin of this correspondence could have been easily "explained and settled here at home." Not so easily as he would have you believe. I am the best judge in this matter, and take the liberty of settling my affairs without seeking his advice. *Explanations* constitute his political crop. And if it were respectful, and in correct taste, I would even venture to nominate him the GREAT EXPLAINER. But this "rumor" is not yet either "*explained*" or "*settled*." It is not to be so easily fanned away as others, on similar occasions, have—like the morning breeze that fans the aspen leaf. The breath of calumny is no light breeze to me, nor, as I trust, am I such a leaf. I breast it, and it does not appal me, for it has fallen *harmless at my feet*. In true charity, I hope the shaft is not so elastic as to rebound and hurt.

I find it necessary now, my fellow-parishioners, to discon-

tinue further remarks concerning your Senator's communication of the 25th September. "To follow such a writer minutely would, like his own periods, be a labor without end." In concluding, then, let me call your attention to the fact that your Senator has dealt in probabilities, doubts, insinuations, aspersions, explanations and empty assertions, without a single solitary proof. I ask you now to review his letter, and judge whether the man who would publish it, would not do worse in the "hurry and excitement" of *private* electioneering, according to what *he* knows of "party warfare;" and whether I was not right in my "Card" to say, as I now repeat, that "I can no longer remain the inactive recipient of deliberate injury." I have brought proof, proof positive, and truth to argue its cause, and I appeal to you for a verdict at the ballot box.

He wishes you to throw the mantle of charity over me. I thank him. It is a garb we all need. May he be doubly cloaked with becoming garments. In return for his good wishes, I have given you his portrait, spread out upon his own canvas, and framed in the gilding of his own composition. Hang it up over your hearth-stones, so that when, in obedience to his appeals, you "rebuke" me for vindicating myself in public against the injuries "*thrown off*" in private, you may do obeisance to his self-drawn illustration of "the principles of his whole life." I conceive that I have done my *duty*, fellow-citizens, to *you* and to *myself*. You have your Senator located over your

mantels. Look at him—I ask no more. Judge between us; and if *you* are willing to have him represent you, then I candidly assure you I am doubly content to resume the unbroken avocations of private life. Allow me now to address

YOUR SENATOR HIMSELF.

Sir: You have ventured, with more than ordinary assurance, without a shadow of probability and no pretence to evidence, to make public your last and most *imprudent* invendo. Had I heard it within the circle of your daily rounds, it would have been of so familiar a sort that I should have accorded to it only passing words of surprise at your shallowness, and pity at your distress. But since you have thought proper to publish *both*, I respect myself too much to allow your impunity to pass for art, or your fears for subtlety.

I read over your name in the Mercury, of the 27th instant, the following sentence, viz:

"A friend has just called my attention to the following paragraphs, which appears in the Southern Citizen, of September 9, a paper published in Knoxville, Tenn. They PURPORT to be taken from a letter dated Charleston, September 1, BUT VERY PROBABLY WRITTEN FROM THIS PARISH."

The closing words of this sentence, taken with the sequel, leave no doubt on my mind, nor on the mind of any gentleman in the parish who has spoken to me on the subject, that your insinuation points to me. Until you publicly disclaim it, and say *who it does point to*, I so regard it.

The calibre of your mind is betrayed in these *seven words* with mortifying truth; and the nature of your resentments appears only too palpable in the silly insinuation. These seven words reveal more than I had supposed you would be willing to utter. Sir, you may be well assured that, in the retirement of their homes, your best friends lament the exposure, and your bitterest enemies temper their exultation with a sigh. Why did you write them?—"When we see a man act in this manner, what are we to think of his understanding?"

When you wrote, did not the "silent testimony" of your own conscience tell you, not only that you were doing wrong, but that your wrong would be exposed?—aye, *rebuked!* Has your rage at my opposing you carried you entirely beyond the limits of your habitual discretion? Can you not spare a moment from the "hurry and excitement of a political canvass" to cover with the palm of your hand, and catch, as it were, even the shadow of an artless thought concerning me, or a liberal idea of my nature? Sir, in this instance there is a cause to fear that you have put yourself in the category of those described by Steele, "whose folly takes away all dignity from distress, and makes even calamity ridiculous." What possible inducement could you have had in venturing on so frivolous an attempt? It could not have been to gratify the friend who handed you the paper. Or is it a fancied disappointment which hangs the curtain of gloom around your

mind, and pillows your heart upon a bed of lilliputian sneers? The keenest speculation is at fault when grey-haired wisdom stoops to folly; and charity herself starts back in mute amaze at the heavy tax you levy. Yet, true to her mission, she will plead your cause, and now summons evidence to the bar of Truth. There, sir, I conduct and confront you.

The first point is the matter of dates. I take the liberty of calling the last letter you published, which is the one now under discussion, the *postscript* of the first, which I will call in contradistinction, the *letter*. The letter is dated Sept. 21st, and published Sept. 25th. The postscript is dated Sept. 18th, (three days before the letter,) and published Sept. 27th. I have information from the Mercury office that the postscript was received there *after* the letter, and while it was preparing for the press, viz: Sept. 24th. Now if, as its date implies, the postscript was written three days before the letter why was it not published before the letter? Could it not have been sent to the Mercury *with* the letter? Was it mislaid? Was it held in reserve with a motive? Or was it dated *back* to conceal the fact of its being an *after thought*? This point is not material, but suggestive.

The next point is involved in those unfortunate *seven words*: "BUT VERY PROBABLY WRITTEN IN THIS PARISH." They imply, 1st, that I, or some one else in the parish, wrote the article you allude to; 2d, that the author, whoever he was, deliberately put a false date to it; and 3d,

that the editor of the Southern Citizen deceived the readers by giving them a communication *purporting* to come from Charleston which *did* not come from Charleston. Thus, in order to "throw off" your insinuation, you not only travel to Charleston to compliment the author, but you go even to Knoxville to pay your respects to the editor. They will doubtless forgive you. John Mitchel is a mild man; the author I don't know, but being a Charlestonian, is probably kind. As to myself, who am, beyond doubt, the third party implicated, I am content with giving the evidence of the other two. In the Mercury of Friday, the 1st inst., you will see the following:

"We received a visit, yesterday, from a GENTLEMAN OF THIS CITY, who avowed himself the author of the correspondence to the Southern Citizen, alluded to in the communication of Col. E. B. Bryan, in the Mercury yesterday, and requested us to state the fact."

The author does not give his name, so you may still doubt.

[Col. Bryan intended to insert at this point the correspondence between himself and Mr. John Mitchel, editor of the Knoxville (Tenn.) Citizen, but up to the hour of going to press, Mr. Mitchel's reply had not been received. We do not feel authorized to longer withhold this article, and therefore publish it without the correspondence—
ED. MERCURY.]

Now, sir, the next time you wish to make an insinuation of the sort against me, before you "throw it off" remember this case.

In connection herewith, a reflection forces itself upon the mind irresistibly: it is this. If you will *publish* such unfounded and unwarrantable insinuations against me, what will you not say in private conversation behind my back? You have in this case attempted publicly to injure me, or at least make me appear ridiculous—to *your advantage*. I have *foiled* and now forgive you.

As to your opinions in relation to the slave trade, which completes the postscript, if you really have formed them definitely, I am wholly indifferent. You are attempting, however, to raise an issue between us on the subject before the people. In this your most elaborate ingenuity will fail. I intend to show that you cannot do it without *recanting*; and *that* done, I have finished with you, unless we meet at Philippi.

In Gov. Adams' Message of 1856, it was held that, "to maintain our present position, we must have cheap labor also.—This can be obtained in but one way—by re-opening the African slave trade. * * * Our true policy is to diffuse the slave population as much as possible. * * * More slaves are necessary to a continuance of our monopoly in plantation products. I believe that they are necessary to a full development of our whole round of agricultural and mechanical resources; that they are necessary to the restoration of the South to an equality of power in the general government, perhaps to the very integrity of slave society, disturbed as it has been, by causes which have induced

an undue proportion of the ruling race." These passages point to cheap labor, diffusion of slave population, development of resources, and an increase in the proportion of the slave to the ruling race; and down to the 6th day of July, 1858, *you endorsed them.*

The letter from which the following extract is taken, was sent to me to peruse, I presume, with your consent, and I preserved a copy. Speaking of your willingness to support Gov. Adams for the United States Senate, if it should be the will of the parish, you say, "and it is well known in Columbia (especially to some of his most active political opponents,) that I defended him against the condemnation which he received on account of the sentiments of his message on the subject of the slave trade. *Since then* I have endeavored to have fair play done him by distributing that paper, in order that his position on that question, and the reason which he gives for it, might be properly understood; and the report of the Senate's committee at the last session (composed of Mr. Mazyck, Col. Chesnut and myself) *vindicated the policy of the measure.*" This letter is dated Bleak Hall, July 6th, 1858, signed J. Townsend, and directed to D. J. LaRoche, Esq.

Now, sir, if this means anything at all, it means that you *then* had not changed your opinion on the subject, but continued to "vindicate the policy of the measure;" for you intimate no change of senti-

ment whatever; which change, if in existence, you were in duty bound to mention. This also, it must be borne in mind, was written before I was a candidate, hence before the present canvass commenced, and therefore was not "thrown off in the hurry and excitement of a political canvass."

You may now attempt to create the impression that in the conversation which elicited the letter above quoted, I was again trying to make a "*bargain*" with you. If you do, I have the papers in my pocket which will frustrate it.

After the Senate's committee was appointed, Col. Chesnut was elected President of the Senate, and thus your committee were reduced to two. The chairman wrote the report; you assented to it. You never dissented on the floor of the Senate to a single word or sentiment or policy in it. It is true, you did not *vote* when the report was finally disposed of; you were absent from your seat, engaged, I suppose, in committee business, which frequently calls members from their seats. It cannot be that you purposely avoided voting on so important a question. But it is impossible to deny that if you had voted you would have voted for the report, and that, too, without expressing an objection to a single part of it. I propose now, without referring to the resolutions recommended by the report, which are conclusive of the policy of bringing more slaves into this State, and to which, of course you assented, to put in juxta

position a small part of your report and a portion of your postscript.

YOUR REPORT.

"Laws, therefore, which prevent accessions to the slave population of the Southern States from abroad, and confine it to its natural increase, have also the effect of limiting, in a proportionate degree, the expansion of their white population."

"EVEN HERE IN SOUTH CAROLINA, one of the oldest of the slaveholding States, where our territory is more fully occupied, there are still immense tracts of very fertile land, which, WITH A MORE ABUNDANT AND CHEAPER SUPPLY OF SUITABLE LABOR, might be brought under the denomination of the agriculturalist, and made to contribute largely to advance the wealth and population of the State. It is needless to say that there is only one way in which the supply of slave labor can be enlarged further and more rapidly than by the natural increase of the slave population, and THAT IS BY THE ADMISSION OF SLAVES IMPORTED FROM ABROAD."

"YOUR POSTSCRIPT."

"My opinions are, that whilst it (the slave trade) cannot be condemned as piracy, or as a thing unchristian, immoral or wrong in itself, IT IS NOT EXPEDIENT OR PROPER TO RE-OPEN IT SO FAR AS THIS STATE IS CONCERNED, where the black population already out-number the whites by about 120,000."

I defy you to make issue with me on this question without repudiating the professed opinions of nearly two years, and taking up those which you may suppose better adapted to "the hurry and excitement of a political canvass."

Though indifferent as to your opinions on this subject, whether they be those of the report or the postscript, I cannot entirely overlook the untenable ground you assume in the latter—which is, that no more slaves should be brought into the State *because* they already out-number the master race by 120,000. If this is true of the State it is true of any part of it, viz. : of the Parish you live in. There the slave population is to the white as

more than ten to one. Do you think "it is not expedient or proper" to bring any more slaves into the Parish? You number them on your plantations by hundreds, yet I have seen you at the vendue table buying more. Now, if you, owning hundreds, buy more; if the Parish, owning 10,000 to less than 1,000 whites, ought to be allowed to buy more, upon what principle do you base your conclusion that the whole State should not be allowed to do likewise? Do you believe that every citizen in the Parish owns as many negroes as it is "expedient and proper" he should own? If so, tell it to them. But if not, upon what grounds do you found your opinion that they should not be allowed to buy where they may to the best advantage? Your plantations are well stocked; you are wealthy enough to "live within yourself;" but you should remember you have many poor neighbors who are not so fortunate. If it were left with me I should say to them, demand from your government "free trade" in all property, negroes included.

And now, my fellow-citizens, feeling conscious that I stand unscathed before you, allow *me*, also, to thank you for "your many favors."

I am, with the greatest respect, your willing "tool" and humble servant,

EDWARD B. BRYAN.

John's Island, October 4, 1858.

In the exhibition of a temper so hostile, malignant, and insulting, as that which pervades

the whole of this, his second attack, you will no doubt say, fellow-citizens, that Mr. Bryan has forfeited all claims to forbearance, and deservedly lays himself open to the gravest rebuke, which may be inflicted upon him consistent with justice and truth. And yet, although he has uttered these opprobrious and insulting things of me in the public newspapers, I have been denied the justice of replying to them through the same channel, as you will perceive by reading the following correspondence, between myself and the Editor of the Mercury :

BLEAK HALL, Oct. 26, 1858.

Dear Sir : I received, late last night, your letter of yesterday's date, declining to publish my answer to Mr. Bryan's last attack. Without being satisfied with your reasons, I feel nevertheless, that you have the *power* to exclude me from your paper.

As, however, an explanation becomes necessary to my friends here, and at a distance, why I have not answered Mr. Bryan ; and as it may be construed into an inability on my part to meet his charges, or a confession of their justice, I think you will agree with me that a statement of the causes which have made me abandon the public newspapers becomes proper, if not eminently necessary, for me. I accordingly send you the accompanying paper, containing a brief statement, and our correspondence on the subject, which seems to me an explanation sufficient for the purpose. Let me

request, then, that you will insert it in your paper as early as possible.

Believe me, very respectfully,
yours, &c.,

J. TOWNSEND.

To R. B. RHETT, Jr., Esq.

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

*To the Citizens of St. John's,
Colleton :*

You have all, doubtless, read the last attack of Mr. E. B. Bryan, made upon me in the Mercury of the 6th, and which contained such gross charges against my veracity and honor. This assault was so well timed by him as to render it altogether impossible for me to answer it *before* the election ; whilst it secured to him all the advantages which his most unfounded statements, and insulting insinuations were designed by him to effect.

Soon after the election, I prepared an answer to his communication, which, owing to a cause which I could not control, and which is stated in my answer, was delayed until Tuesday last before I could send it to the printer. It was taken to the Editor of the Mercury on Wednesday, by whom I was informed (through the gentleman who did me the favor of handing it to Mr. Rhett,) that—

“Upon looking over Mr. Townsend's piece, I find it grossly insulting to Mr. Bryan in several passages, charging him with dishonesty and falsehood, etc.

“Mr. Thomas Roper comes in also for a good share. I desire and intend to do Mr Townsend justice, within the bounds of newspaper decorum, but

doubt my ability to insert the piece as it stands. I shall take it to the island with me, and examine it carefully to-night. If it is inserted, it will be in Friday's issue. If not, I shall strike out the objectionable passages and expressions."

On the next day the following letter was received by the gentleman, and sent to me, the day after, into the country :

MERCURY OFFICE, Oct. 21, 1858.

Dear Sir: I have carefully read Mr. Townsend's communication, and find it contains matter which I cannot be the medium of putting before the public. The other pieces published certainly went to the extreme limit of newspaper propriety. This far exceeds the others, both in the use of insulting and injurious epithets and in the gravity of the charges. One gentleman, of whom I know nothing, is virtually charged with total unreliability in a matter of truth; and another with an acknowledgment of the corruptest personal motives in seeking the office of State Senator—a charge which, if believed, would damn him forever, as a man, and leave him without a shred of character. Neither charge is sustained by a particle of proof or any authority, beyond a nameless quotation, in support of the latter.

In addition to what I have stated, it should be borne in mind that the election being over, the public have no interest in the affair; and it is unreasonable to expect to occupy five columns of a paper to the exclusion of matters of interest, however unexceptionable. But when

filled with matter decidedly distasteful to the community, and beyond the bounds of decorum, I think it is asking too much. If Mr. Townsend thinks he has not vindicated himself, the private press is open to him. He can have the article, in any shape or form he pleases, published in pamphlet form, and circulated to any extent. With every intention to do justice to Mr. Townsend, and to meet my responsibility to the public, I therefore beg leave to decline the publication. I trust, upon more mature reflection, he will think me justified in this course.

Very respectfully, yours,

R. B. RHETT, Jr.

R. E. BROWN, Esq.

P. S.—I would add, that before deciding, I have sought the advice of several of our best men.

R.

Immediately upon receiving the above, I replied as follows:

"BLEAK HALL, }
Friday, October 22, 1858. }

Dear Sir—I have just received through Mr. Brown, your letter to him, declining to publish my answer to Mr. Bryan's unprovoked attack upon me, published in your paper of the 6th. After publishing that piece, which contained the grossest charges against me, of falsehood, and falsifying dates, &c., for the purpose of meanly injuring him, as he insinuates, I think I have cause to feel aggrieved, when you now refuse to allow me the opportunity of disproving those charges, and sending the proof forth to the world as extensively as you have circulated the charges in your paper.

You object to what I say of

Mr. Thos. Roper. Let not that be an objection to publishing my answer, Strike out all that in relation to HIM, which you may consider offensive (I request you to do this) leaving only my flat contradiction of his statement, which you will see in Mr. Bryan's attack in your paper of the 6th.

With respect to Mr. Bryan's "personal motives for seeking the office of State Senator," unfortunately for him, it is TRUE; and, as I say in my answer, I CAN PROVE IT TO BE TRUE, if HE DENY IT. You say that "the charge is not sustained by a particle of proof, or any authority, beyond a nameless quotation." Now that quotation is made from the WRITTEN TESTIMONY now in my possession, from an individual whose character is unimpeachable, and whose testimony even Mr. Bryan will not deny.

The NEWSPAPERS, the medium of his choice, will be open for him to deny all that I may charge upon him, if it be false; and it, I *hope*, will be open to me afterwards to bring my PROOFS. In the position in which the matter now stands between Mr. Bryan and myself, it seems to me that such is the only course which can be pursued towards us to do ME justice. His charges against me of falsehood and other disreputable things, you have published in your paper of the 6th. They have gone forth to the whole world, defaming my character, wherever I am not known! I submit it, then, to your candor, my dear sir, now to say, after this view of the case, whether the "private press," which you recommend to me as a substitute for your public jour-

nal, gives me a fair and equal chance, with that which you have extended to Mr. Bryan? Let me, then, request it, as an ACT OF JUSTICE TO ME, that you will have my manuscript published, after striking out the passages in relation to Mr. Roper, before alluded to.

I write in great haste, to be in time for the return of the steamboat, and beg you to believe me,

Very respectfully, yours,

J. TOWNSEND.

To R. B. RHETT, Jr., Esq.

P. S. Allow me to hear from you at your very-earliest convenience, in order, if I be denied a public reply through your paper, and am compelled to resort to the private press and the pamphlet form, that I may do so without delay. J. T.

To this letter I received a reply from Mr. Rhett, as follows :

MERCURY OFFICE, }
Oct. 25, 1858. }

Dear Sir :—Mr. Brown has handed me your letter of the 22d. I regret to find that the reasons assigned in my note of the 21st, for declining to publish your last communication, do not satisfy you, and that you renew the request as an act of justice due you from me.

I beg leave again to state that as the election is over, the public have now no interest in this distasteful matter, which I do not feel warranted in obtruding further before them. Besides, in my opinion, your piece is altogether beyond the limits of newspaper criticism, containing,

as it does, much more offensive language, and far graver charges, than anything embraced in the controversy hitherto published. These, too, as I stated, are without proof, although you say you have it in reserve. The private press is open to you, but really I cannot justify myself in being the medium of your reaching the public. I have been anxious to do you justice, as I might be suspected of partiality in favor of Col. Bryan, from *political sympathies*. To avoid even the appearance of this, I have consulted gentlemen here of the highest standing, whose opinion in such a matter will command the respect of the entire community. Without being aware of the opinion of the others, they have each given me the same advice, coinciding with my own opinion.

I must, therefore, again decline the publication, trusting that in time you will see the propriety of my course, in view of my responsibility to the pub-

lic, as well as to yourself and Col. Bryan.

Very respectfully, dear sir,

Yours, in haste,

R. B. RHETT, JR.

J. TOWNSEND, Esq.

Through the *private press*, then, fellow-citizens, as my only alternative, you shall hear from me.

The above statement and correspondence will explain to you why I have not sooner redeemed the pledge which I publicly made to you on the day of election, that as soon as I might have opportunity "to dissect and expose Mr. Bryan's late attack upon me, I would remove from the mind of every fair and impartial man all injurious impressions which he may have created by it against my character and conduct."

With entire confidence in my ability to do this, I now take leave of you for a short time.

Faithfully, yours,

J. TOWNSEND.

BLEAK HALL, Oct. 26, 1856.

TO THE CITIZENS OF ST. JOHN'S, COLLETON.

The election is over ; your verdict has been rendered, and my opponent has been elected ; his majority being more than doubled by *illegal* votes. I respectfully bow to your decision. No friends could have been more true, than those who have honored me with their support ; but the numerous adverse influences,—the accumulated results of many years of public service, in various capacities in the Parish, and the Legislature, have proved too strong for them to contend against. In pursuing the straight path of *duty*, and in endeavoring to do justice to every one, as far as I have been able, it is not too much to say that very many have been benefitted, whilst many have been disappointed in their selfish aims ; and my friends, in their support of me, have had cause to realize the fact, that the sentiment of *gratitude* for favors and benefits bestowed, is but a feeble and transient principle, in comparison with that deep-seated *resentment*, which is nurtured by those, whose selfishness may have been rebuked. It is not then that their influence has been small, but that the difficulties have been great, and the various parties and cliques numerous, which my friends have had to contend against ; no one, or two, or three of which could command a majority in the Parish,

but where all concentrated on one point, have become strong enough to accomplish their common purpose, and that is the gratification of their resentment upon me. Whilst then I would here publicly express my profound gratitude to those gentlemen, who have so generously given me their support, I desire in an equally public manner to acknowledge that their want of success has not been owing to them, but to their candidate, who has had to carry such a weight of various opposition, which has been accumulating upon him for years back ;—not one of which he has been willing to *apologize* away, since he has believed that in each he has been *right*. He has seen no reasons yet, which are sufficiently strong to make him abandon his *co-operation* principles, hence the band of Separate Secessionists are upon him. He can see no danger to the *Parishes* from the *bill* confining the election of *electors of President and Vice President of the United States* to the House of Representatives ; and so the Parish enthusiasts are down upon him. He has done no wrong to the gentlemen of the *central landing*, but only prevented them from doing wrong to the public ; and, therefore, has had no concessions, or apology, to make to that party. He still thinks that the doctrine of

instruction is a worthless, and mischievous principle, to be engrafted upon a *representative* government, and not a little absurd in its results; and therefore he cannot appease the people's especial guardians, by recanting those opinions. He has no apology to make for his vote on the *Pendleton bill*, which gave a Senator each, to Anderson and Pickens; believing that it was an act of justice which was due from him to his fellow-citizens in those districts; and so the parish enthusiasts again beleaguer him. He cannot stretch or contract "his politics," so as to come up, or go down, to the exact *length, breadth, and thickness* of other men's notions, who in their *austere* patriotism have measured his opinions, by their own little pocket rule; and therefore these "*patriots*" are against him. These were heavy weights which my friends had to carry with their candidate. But, besides these, there were also thrown upon him the keen opposition of this, man, and his friends; and another, man, and his clique; and a third, and his party, whom in the discharge of various trusts, during a long and active service in the Parish, he had been compelled, from a sense of duty, to oppose, and frustrate in their schemes. I may not further allude, to what is so well understood to many of you, fellow-citizens, but the above are sufficient to show, that it has been from no want of influence, or energy, on the part of my friends, but on account of too many adverse influences, united in nothing else, but all making common cause in this *one effort* to defeat their candidate.

I now take up Mr. Bryan's last attack upon me in the *Mercury* of

the 4th October; which, from the frivolous pretext which I pointed out in my notice of the 4th October, (published in the *Mercury* on the 8th,) he postponed publishing until too late, for me to answer *before* the election. I have pledged myself publicly, that "I shall be able to remove from the mind of every fair and impartial man, all injurious impressions which he may by it, have created against my character and conduct." I now redeem that pledge, and invoke the attention of "every *fair and impartial man*."

Mr. Bryan's reply in the *Mercury* of the 6th, when dissected, is composed of: 1st. What he would have you suppose is a witty comment upon my answer to his "Card," published on the 25th. In reply to all that portion of his communication, I refer you to a *re-perusal* of my answer to him, just alluded to; for his witty attempts, with all his Scripture quotations to aid them, does not impair the force of one even of the arguments, but is only a *perversion* or *evasion* of them.

It is composed: 2d. Of denials of some of the statements contained in my answer, to which he has added fresh imputations against my veracity and honor. Were it not for these denials and implications, I would have considered his reply scarcely worthy of notice; but as he has made them, I shall proceed to vindicate and defend myself from his opprobrious charges.

I said in my answer to his "Card," that "I had heretofore cultivated friendly relations with him, which I had shown by acts." I then specified those acts; "I voted for him at the *last* election; and two or three years ago, when he was a member of the Legislatur

and sought after a lucrative office in the gift of the Legislature, I voted for him for the office, and otherwise gave him my support." In allusion to *these acts of friendliness* on my part, I remark:—"This surely does not indicate *hostility* to him, when I have embraced every opportunity to promote his political and pecuniary interests." But he takes this remark, which evidently alludes to the particular cases just stated, and builds upon it an accusation that "it is *not true*, for you must remember *his* efforts, he says, against me in 1854, when I was first a candidate for the House of Representatives." And, in order to prove this, he obtains the letters of two gentlemen; *suppresses* one of them entirely, mutilates the other, by omitting the most important paragraph in it, which is the *key* to the whole, and so makes it to mean what the writer never intended. I beg you, fellow-citizens, to examine Mr. Bryan's reply with the *suppressed* portions of that letter, and then read the following letter from Mr. La Roche, which he sent me as soon as he had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Bryan's communication in the Mercury of the 6th.

ROCKVILLE, Oct. 7, 1858.

Dear Sir:—I deem it due to myself, and to you, to correct the misconceptions which may arise from Col. Bryan's comments upon that portion of my letter of the 26th July, which he has quoted in his communication published in the Mercury of October 6. I here positively deny that I had any reference to you in that extract, in which Col. Bryan attempts to make it appear that *you* urged me to vote against him, when I alluded

to other and very different persons. I admit that in a subsequent conversation with Col. Bryan, in the presence of Dr. J. C. Seabrook and W. S. Murray, I did say that in the election of 1854 you had requested me to vote against him; but, at the *same time*, I stated that this was in *consequence* of a remark which Col. Bryan had made.

The remark was this, as it reached your ears: that "*he (Col. Bryan) would rather be defeated himself than see you elected in that election.*" Col. Bryan has said, "It matters not *why*" you tried to induce me to vote against him. I differ from him, and think the remark was such as would warrant the request from you to your own kinsman and friend. I will endeavor to enclose you a copy of the *whole* of Mr. Murray's letter, from which Col. Bryan has extracted a part. It contains the remark alluded to.

In conclusion, I say positively that, until this remark reached your ears, you had repeatedly said, in my presence and that of other gentlemen, who can testify to the fact, if necessary, that it was your intention to vote for Col. Bryan at the election in 1854. Yours, truly,

DANIEL J. LA ROCHE.

P. S.—You are at liberty to make any use of this letter that you see fit.

To the Hon. John F. Townsend.

In consequence of the sickness of Mr. Murray, and his absence from home, Mr. La Roche was unable to send me the copy of his letter therein alluded to, and it has been only this day, the 18th, that he, having returned home, has done me the favor of sending it to me; to which cause, also, I may be allowed to remark, in passing, has

been owing the delay of writing this part of my answer to Mr. Bryan's attack, and the delay of sending it to the printer.

MR. MURRAY'S LETTER.

"ROCKVILLE, Oct. 18, 1858.

"MR. TOWNSEND:

"*Dear Sir:*—I send you, as I promised, a copy of my note to Mr. Bryan:

"JOHN'S ISLAND, Sept. 29, '58.

"MR. E. B. BRYAN:

"*Dear Sir:*—Your note of the 28th was handed to me last night. In reply, I must say I do recollect the conversation alluded to. I saw Mr. D. J. La Roche this morning, who says Mr. Townsend tried at that election to induce him to vote against you, on account of a remark you had made. The remark was: "*That you would rather lose your own election than that Mr. Townsend should be elected.*"

"I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

"W. S. MURRAY.

"This is a correct copy of the note in my possession.

"I am, with sentiments of the highest esteem, your sincere friend,

"W. S. MURRAY."

Here follows Dr. Seabrook's letter, a copy of which I claimed, and he very properly granted to me, in consideration of my being the subject of it. This was the letter entirely suppressed by Mr. Bryan:

ROCKVILLE, Sept. 29, 1858.

COL. E. B. BRYAN:

"*Dear Sir:*—I received your note last evening, but too late to return an answer by your boy.

In the conversation that you allude to, I remember that Mr. Daniel La Roche told you that he had voted for you in the election of 1854, notwithstanding that Mr. Townsend, in riding to the polls, advised him to cast his vote against you

I have since heard Mr. Daniel La Roche speak of this conversation several times, and he said that at some time prior to that election you had made use of an expression to wit: "*That you would rather be yourself defeated than see Mr. Townsend gain his election.*" It was from the above remark, he says, that Mr. Townsend voted against you, and advised him to do the same. Whether Mr. Daniel La Roche made use of the above remark during that conversation, I cannot now call to mind.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

JAMES C. SEABROOK.

To Col. E. B. Bryan.

Now, fellow-citizens, what shall we think of the fair dealing of this man, who, with such testimony in his possession, suppresses everything which is important to a righteous judgment, (and then perverts the truth,) in order to lead you astray? and that, too, for the purpose of impeaching the veracity of a man whom you have, in times past, so often honored with your confidence? We see him here, guilty of that meanest of vices in a writer: not only the "*suppresio veri*," but the "*suggestio falsi*,"—the "suppression of truth, and the suggestion of falsehood;" and when we consider the purpose for which it was done—that of imputing falsehood to a man upon whose character such a stain has never before been attempted to be cast, his conduct ceases to be meanly

vicious, but becomes atrociously criminal!

He first *creates* an accusation against me by representing me as *saying* what I have never said, and could not be induced to say, and that is, that I voted for him in 1854. I said, only, that I voted for him in 1856. And then he attempts to prove falsehood on me by showing what I never denied, and could not be induced to deny, and that is, that I did *not* vote for him at the election of 1854. But he *suppresses* all the testimony, to prove that I had ample reasons to *justify* me in not then voting for him. Mr. La Roche has stated my reasons, which were very generally known then, as well as now, for I freely express my opinions. Mr. Bryan was a new-comer in the Parish, and owing to certain family connexions, I felt kindly towards him; and in the election of 1854, I intended to vote for him, as did many of my personal friends. But when I was informed, that at a large dinner table, he so far forgot himself, and the respect which was due to me, as to make the hostile declaration contained in the letters of Messrs. La Roche, Murray and Seabrook, but which he so *cautiously suppressed* in his late attack upon me, I determined to withdraw my support, and expressed the opinion to some of my friends (I did not "urge" them) to do the same. Did he expect, when I found him *bidding for the votes* of certain men in Legareville (who were personally very hostile to me) by his offensive remark, that I should continue to support him? or that I should, after that, counsel any of my personal friends to support him, when I did not receive the support of one of his? My self-respect must have been low, in-

deed, to have done this! Why, then, does he now complain of not having received a support which he lost by his own folly, and his truckling to the personal prejudices of others? At the *last election* he says he had "no opposition." Strange, when there were *three* candidates, and only two to be elected.

Mr. Bryan seems disposed to cast doubt upon my statement that he *sought* the lucrative office, to which I voted for him. This will excite surprise among his friends who were in Columbia at the time. He says: "If your Senator intends to *make good his statement* that I *sought* the office, in the sense which he wishes to convey, he must produce the *names of the members of the Legislature whose votes* he would have you believe *I asked for*. Is *his* among the number?" It is asking a very unreasonable thing of me, fellow-citizens, to require that I should "*produce the names of the members of the Legislature whose votes he asked for*." I did not follow him through the House, or Senate, on the occasion. But this, I aver—he did ask for *my* support; and I gave it to him. The circumstances were these: One of Mr. Bryan's friends, from the House, came to me in the Senate chamber, before the election, and stated to me that Mr. Bryan was a candidate for the office of Superintendent of the new State House, and asked if I would support him. It was the first time I had had any intimation of his wishes that way, and it took me a little by surprise. I had reflected upon the importance of the office, and the qualifications, which the man should possess, who should fill it. I therefore paused for a while, and then began to converse with

the gentleman about Mr. Bryan's qualifications for the trust, which he considered sufficient. I then intimated my inclination to support him. Not long after, Mr. Bryan came into the Senate Chamber *himself*, and *stated to me his desire for the office*, and asked if I would not *support him*. We had some conversation about his qualifications, in which he satisfied me; and if he will endeavor to recall the circumstances to his memory (as he seems to have forgotten them) I will recall a remark, which I made to him in that interview which will doubtless bring the whole thing to his mind. I was stating to him, what I considered would be a great difficulty which he would, as Superintendent, have to contend with; and that was, to resist the importunities of a certain class of people, and their friends, who would be trying to fasten themselves upon the work as *agents* or *contractors*, or *officers of some sort*, so as to get a share of the appropriations. I then asked him if he could say "No" to those people, when necessary. He said he thought he could. Then I replied to him, "I will vote for you."

Mr. Bryan next renews his charge of my "having expressed an intention to *crush him*;" and gives as his *author* "Thomas Roper"—his brother-in-law?

I desire to say as little as possible of Mr. Thomas Roper. It, however, becomes necessary, in justice to myself, that I should remind you of his heedless, most inconsiderate, and careless practice of relating circumstances, thereby sometimes doing mischief, and inflicting injury, without intending it.

I reiterate the assertion made in my answer: "I never said so." "The charge is groundless, that I intend

to *crush him*." Mr. "Thomas Roper" is entirely mistaken, when he says otherwise.

Again: Mr. Bryan "ventures upon the monstrous" *denial*, that scarcely one year ago he thought me fit for the office of Senator. Supposing that he was, at the time, candid and straightforward in his intentions, this was inferred, from the proposition which he made to me, as stated in my answer to his "card." The proposition was, that "if I would withdraw from the Senate, in his favor, in 1862, then he would not oppose me at the present election." As his memory appears so reluctant to testify to the conversation, that it affords him only "glimmerings" of it, I will give him both the *time* and *place* where it occurred. It occurred at the *Haul-over Cut*, last year, when I was there as a commissioner, working that Cut. Soon after dinner, Mr. Bryan asked an interview with me; we went a short distance from the table, in view of many gentlemen, and there, and at that time, the conversation took place; *in substance, precisely as I have stated it in my answer*. The conversation took place between him, and myself alone; there was no participant; (I truly regret there was not,) but in one sense it was not private, as Mr. Bryan requested me to make the proposition known to my friends, which I afterwards did. He pretends now great horror, at being reminded, that on the occasion just referred to, he thought me fit for the office. "God forbid?" he says. "With all my errors, I have never fallen into that delusion." Now to this it may be replied, that an honest and candid man's opinions, are to be inferred from his language and conduct. When, therefore, a plain, direct proposition, (not put as a *hy-*

pothetical case, as Mr. Bryan would have you believe,) is made, that if I would withdraw from the Senate in his favor, in 1862, that he would not oppose me at the present election, the plain inference is, that he thought me fit for the office. He may, however, have meant otherwise; but the matter we have to deal with, is, did he make the proposition, as I have stated it? I affirm that he did.

But at a much later date than that, when the foregoing conversation took place, (as late as the 5th of July,) he *intimated* his intention not to oppose me for the Senate, if I would vote for Gen'l. Adams for the U. S. Senate. Did he then desire that I should retain office, (believing that I was unfit for it,) merely that he might promote his *selfish* aims, in getting Gen. Adams elected, as I shall presently show; or did he really think I *was fit for the office*, when he made the overture? If he thought I was fit, then what becomes of his "monstrous" declaration now, that he thought I was not? But, if he *really* thought I was *not* fit for the office, but wished me in it, to promote his *pecuniary* interests, through the election of Gen. Adams, what shall we think of the selfishness of the man, who can be governed in his political, conduct by such mercenary motives!

In order to the proper understanding of this matter, it becomes necessary, fellow-citizens, that I should now bring to your notice certain facts, which are not generally known. On the 5th July, Mr. Bryan sought an interview with Mr. Dan'l. J. La Roche, for the purpose, as he said, (as he could not see me,) of sending me a message, through him, as my friend. The object of the *conversation*, it appears, was to

ascertain my views in relation to Gen. Adams as U. S. Senator; and the subject of the *message* was a very plain intimation that he would not oppose me for the Senate, if I would support Gen. Adams for the above office; and a request that I would give an answer as soon as possible. Mr. Bryan at that time, and at all other times previously, so far as I had heard, when the subject was mentioned to me, had spoken of me in a friendly manner, and with respect for me, as an *officer* against whom he did not object. It was generally believed by my friends, (and I thought the same,) that if he opposed me, it would be from an *outside pressure*, coming from other individuals, representing different hostile interests, and not from his own volition. Indeed, on that very day (the 5th July) he had declared to some of my friends that he was *not a candidate for the Senate* but for the House, where he expected to be appointed Chairman of an important committee. When, therefore, his overture was made to Mr. La Roche, and delivered to me, we both thought him sincere; and that he was not laying a snare for us, but that he was acting in good faith, and was not unfriendly to me. And we were induced to entertain this opinion, especially from the way he represented his situation; as "being urged by his friends to run for the Senate, but that he was, as it were, between two fires; for if he did, he might displease such of *his* as were also Mr. Townsend's friends, while if he did not, he might give offence to his own friends; that he himself *preferred* to be in the House, as he had reason to believe that he would be *appointed chairman* of an important committee; and that it was most probable if Mr. Townsend

would vote for Gen. Adams for the U. S. Senate, he thought the matter could be arranged." Thus making the impression, that if he did oppose me, it would not be willingly, but merely to gratify others, who wished to use him to effect *their* purposes. The overture then coming to me in so fair and unsuspected a guise, I entertained it in the spirit in which I supposed it was sent, and accordingly, on the next day, wrote the letter to Mr. La Roche, of which Mr. Bryan says he took a copy, when sent to him for perusal.

But before I lay before you the *whole* of that letter, with Mr. Bryan's reply, in order that you may clearly perceive the posture of affairs between us at that time, let me bring to your notice a fact which shows the artfulness of the man with whom I was dealing. It is scarcely credible, but it is a fact which I can prove by undoubted testimony, that on *the very day*, when Mr. Bryan declared to some of my friends that he was *not* a candidate for the Senate, but for the House—on *the very day*, when he held the conversation with Mr. La Roche, about Gen. Adams, and made me the overture (through him) about his election to the U. S. Senate—on *that very day* Mr. Bryan was *canvassing for the Senate!!* This I did not discover until some time after the letter had been written, and Mr. Bryan had been publicly announced as a candidate for the Senate, with his own consent, as he informs us.

Mr. Bryan has given you an *extract* from that letter, to suit *his* purposes—which was, his attempt to prove *inconsistency* on my part in my opinions on the *slave trade*. As I have answered, in anticipation, all he has said on that subject, in my notice of his coadjutor, "A

Constituent," who appears to have taken his weapons from the same magazine from which Mr. Bryan has been supplied, I consider him fully met on all his points; and now, only refer you to my communication of the 4th, published in the Mercury of the 8th October. He has, I say, given you an *extract* from that letter, to suit *his* purposes, now let me give the *whole letter* to subserve the purposes of *truth*, and your fully understanding of the whole matter:

BLEAK HALL, July 6, 1858.

Dear Sir—You inform me that Mr. Bryan is desirous of seeing me. I shall be pleased to meet him at any place and time which may be mutually convenient to us. I would judge by what you state to me that much misapprehension exists in relation to my sentiments towards Gen. Adams. Without being intimate, our relations have been friendly. I voted for him for Governor; and it is well known in Columbia (and especially to some of his most active political opponents) that I defended him against the *condemnation* which he received, on account of the sentiments of his Message on the slave trade. Since then I have endeavored to have *fair play* done him by distributing that document; in order that his *position* on that question, and the *reasons which he gave for it*, might be *properly understood*; and the Report of the Senate's Committee at the last session (composed of Mr. Mazyck, Col. Chestnut and myself) vindicated the policy of the measure.

Of the several candidates for our United States Senator, (of whom I hear Gen. Adams is one) I may say, I am under pledges to no one. I have no partialities to indulge;

no resentments of any kind to gratify; and, personally, my only concern is, that the office should be filled by the *most suitable man*. If in the judgment of the *Parish*, that man shall be Gen. Adams, and they shall *declare to me their preference*, I shall feel no hesitation in voting for him.

It has occurred to me that as I visit my plantation at Bugby once a week, and occasionally twice, it might be convenient for Mr. Bryan to meet me there. If so, and he will write to me on the subject, I will endeavor so to arrange my business there as to meet him at the appointed time.

Believe me, with friendly regards,
Truly yours,

J. TOWNSEND,

To DAN'L J. LA ROCHE, Esq.

It is here manifest from the *whole letter*, that the object of it was to make known my opinions in relation to Gen. Adam's, for the information of Mr. Bryan, and (in reply to his overture, which had been brought to me by Mr. La Roche) to indicate what course I would pursue towards Gen. Adams in his election to the United States Senate.

Now read Mr. Bryan's reply:

JOHN'S ISLAND, July 10, 1858.

My Dear Sir,—Yours of the 8th was received last evening, enclosing Mr. Townsend's letter to you, which I now return, with my thanks for its perusal.

Though Mr. Townsend would be willing to *vote for Gov. Adam's under the circumstances to which he alludes*; as they are *not likely to occur*, I do not regard his qualified expressions as *amounting to anything*.

There is no way that I know in which the *Parish could express an opinion* without a question being

submitted. And it is impossible to get a meeting together to "instruct" him on any subject, he being generally regarded as having repudiated the doctrine of instruction.

Governor Adams is my *personal choice*, both on account of mutual friendship and similarity of sentiment with regard to political matters and my appreciation of his fitness for the office. It was not, however, in this sense that I alluded to him in my conversation with you. I referred to him more particularly in the event that he should be the nominee of the State Rights members of the Legislature, or *any portion* of them. If he is not, I, of course, would forego my own choice for whoever may be the State Rights' nominee.

Since I saw you, however, I have received several renewed requests to represent the Parish in the Senate. I consider that the people have a right to choose the capacity in which I shall represent them, and have concluded to leave it to them to decide. If any excitement accompanies this election, I wash my hands of all responsibility for it. It will not be occasioned by anything I say or do. I will not impugn the motives or the conduct of any one, and will not allow any one to impugn mine. That is the only part I shall take in the canvass; for I enter into no local issue, and am happy to add, have no personal resentment or dislike.

Yours, very truly,

E. B. BRYAN.

MR. DAN'L LA ROCHE, Rockville.

It is plain from this letter that he seems to comprehend the whole matter under consideration, and which had formed the *subject of conversation* with Mr. La Roche. and the message sent to me by him, He only objects to the *terms* upon which I would consent to support

Gen. Adams; and that is, "if in the judgment of the *parish*, he shall be considered the most suitable man, and they shall declare to me their preference." *These* do not suit him. The chance of the vote for Gov. Adams, "*under the circumstances*, as they are not *likely to occur*, amounts to nothing." "There is no way in which this parish could express their opinion; and if they did, he considers it would be of no use, as I do not acknowledge myself bound by "*instructions*." (In the vote for *public officers*, he is mistaken in my opinions, as will appear in my "Defence.")

This is the sum and substance of his objection, in his reply to my letter to Mr. La Roche. The pledge given to vote for Gov. Adams is no pledge at all, or is not sufficiently *strong* for his purpose. He wanted it given to *him* unconditionally, so that *he* could have controlled my vote, by a written pledge; and so he could have carried *two* votes from the parish—his, and mine. He did not like the condition, on which I put it, that the vote was to represent the wishes of the *people*, and not an offering of Mr. Bryan's *own procuring*, on the shrine of Gen. Adams.

Of course, as I did not come up to the terms which he expected me to pledge myself to, "he received several renewed requests (between the 5th and 10th of July,) to represent the parish in the Senate," and "he had concluded to leave it to the people to decide."

For this contingency he was preparing on the Muster day on the 5th July, (and for I don't know how many weeks and months before, as I have now reason to believe,) when he was canvassing for the Senate, whilst he was deluding my friends that he was a candidate *only for the House*. It was politic certainly in him to have something to fall back upon, in case the *uncompromising old Planter* would not consent to his terms. And if he could not carry *two* votes from the parish, which he could control, he would then lend himself to the various parties in opposition to me in the parish, and so endeavor to kill off one vote, which might be opposed to Gen. Adams.

"It was *not* that he had *any fault* to find with Mr. Townsend *officially*; but Mr. Townsend was a rich man and he was a poor man; and he, Bryan, wanted the office of State Senator, in order to ensure the election of Gov. Adams to the Senate of the United States; that then, he would have two personal friends in Congress, Senator Hammond and Gen. Adams; and that his *pecuniary prospects* would be advanced thereby.*"

"*He had no fault to find with me as Senator!*" He could not but testify that I was diligent, industrious, punctual to my duties, both as a member of the Senate and as Chairman of an important Committee, and as a Trustee of the College, which formed part of my duties as Chairman. He could not

* This "nameless extract," as the Editor of the Mercury calls it, is the written testimony of Mr. Richard J. LaRoche, a gentleman distinguished in a remarkable degree for fairness, and for his exactness and caution in the statement of facts. Until Mr. Bryan made this declaration of his personal motives for seeking the office of State Senator, he was numbered among his political supporters, but then instantly withdrew from him, influenced very much by the same feelings as those expressed by the Editor of the Mercury. We are authorized in stating that Mr. John Lawton Seabrook, (who was also present when Mr. Bryan made the above declaration of his motives,) concurs with Mr. La Roche in his testimony.

but know that my life in Columbia was one of much retirement, attending to these duties; that I was never to be seen in *drinking houses*, or going from tavern to tavern; and that I brought no stain upon the office, by vice or dissipation. How then could he do otherwise than testify that he found *no fault* with me *officially*? This was his opinion less than three months ago, about the time he openly avowed himself to be a candidate for the Senate. If he denies it, I will prove that and more by undoubted testimony. But now it suits his purpose, and he *denies* that at any time within the year he has thought me fit for the office! How are we to *believe* him? except, that according to *his* principles, a man may be without fault *officially*, but be unfit for office when he stands in the way of *his* advancing his own "pecuniary prospects." Or does he think that no man is fit for the office of Senator, except he pursues it for his own selfish and *mercenary* ends? In that case the independent, proud-spirited planter must stand aside, and give place to the "*politician by trade*." Certainly a high-toned planter *is* unfit for an office for such purpose, and the office unfit for him. God forbid! that the spirit of our Senators should be so degraded as to seek office, to become afterwards the *hangers on* of two United States Senators, in order to "advance their pecuniary

prospects." "With all my errors I have never fallen into that delusion," and trust in God I shall never fall so low!!

But such, fellow-citizens, are the mercenary motives which have governed your Senator elect in his aspirations after the *honor* of serving you. It furnishes the key and explanation of his ardent support of Gov. Hammond for the United States Senate at the last session of the Legislature, and his equally ardent desire to be elected this time, to "insure the election of Gov. Adams" to the same high office—"personal friends" for "pecuniary profit" and office under the *General Government*! It accounts, too, for the extreme vigor with which he had recently sought to be elected; for the unscrupulous measures which he has taken to poll *illegal votes* in his favor, amounting to a half, or perhaps two thirds of the *majority* which he has obtained; and what concerns me personally, it accounts for those deliberate and malignant attacks upon my private character: first in his "Card," next in his labored communication in the Mercury of the 6th, and again in his letter to Mr. Mitchel, Editor of the Southern Citizen, in which he could not write for so simple a thing as a *certificate*, without indulging in scurrilous abuse of me, and that to a *stranger*!* The recklessness of his play has been only in pro-

* As a specimen of Mr. Bryan's bad taste, bad temper and discourtesy towards me, I would refer the gentle reader to his letter to Mr. Mitchel. Let it be remembered that he was writing to a man who was a perfect stranger to me, and for a *mere certificate*. Let the *cause*, also, of his ungracious allusions to me be likewise remembered; and that it was on account only of certain most inoffensive "seven words," used in an inoffensive letter, in which I defined my position on the subject of the slave trade, that he had lashed himself up into such a "Bombastes" fury.

Why the offensive abortion was brought forth in the Mercury at all, after the pretended occasion, which was used as its excuse, had entirely passed away, or whether it was delivered of Mr. Bryan there, or by the agency alone of the Editor of that paper, does not satisfactorily appear. One inference however may safely be drawn—when a *thing* like that letter is born so out of *time*, out of *place*, and

portion to the desperateness of his condition. Judged by his conduct, this election seemed the life or death of his political hopes; and your ballots, fellow-citizens, were to him as a corn crib and cotton bags. He tells you to make me say "whether I am a *State rights man*," † and in an insulting strain calls upon you "to *make me give you my meaning*." Have you ever considered what *he* will be in twelve months, six months, nay, perhaps only three months from this time, after Senator Hammond shall have thrown him a bone out of the Federal kitchen; and, (if he be elected,) after Senator Adams shall throw him another, "for value re-

ceived?" What, then, will become of all the *blarney* with which he has been slaving you about his obedience to "instruction," and his being willing "to be your '*tool*' as long as your sentiments accord" (and he will be sure to make *his accord* with yours as long as he may want your votes)? And what of his profuse professions of "*extremist*" devotion to your interests on "Parish questions," and the "question of changing the electoral law" (which I have demonstrated in my "Defence" has no relation to the compromises of the constitution in reference to the Parishes)? What, I say, of all his devotion to you, "when, as he tells you, he,

without any *plausible pretext* for its being made to see the light, — and that is that its publication was intended to offer gratuitous insult to me.

See the Letter in the Appendix.

† When we hear Mr. Bryan, (as he does in his attack,) and men like him over the State, talk about "State rights," and making their notions of it, and their "*meaning*" of it, the *TESTS* of all that is wise and patriotic in our land, we are irresistibly reminded of Sir Robert Walpole's notice of such gentry in *his* times. The breed is not extinct, not even degenerated since then—for we find these exclusives claiming for themselves "their principles," and "their party," all the political virtue of the community in these, our days, and prepared, at a moment's warning, to denounce all other men who may not belong to "their party," or who will not pronounce the *Shibboleth* according to their dogmatic "*meaning*."

That long-tried statesman, and acute observer of men, in a speech which he delivered in Parliament on a motion for his removal from the Premiership, thus notices the "*patriots*" of his day—the congeners of the "State rights" *exclusives* of ours.

"Look around both Houses, and see to which side the balance of virtue and talents preponderates! Are all these on one side, and *none on the other*? Are all of these to be counterbalanced by an affected claim to an *exclusive title* of patriotism? ("State rights.") Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism. A venerable word, when duly practiced! But I am sorry to say, that of late it has been so much hackneyed about that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism (of sound "State rights") is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the worst of purposes. "A patriot," sir! Why, "*patriots*" ("State rights men") spring up like mushrooms! I could raise fifty of them within the twenty-four hours! I have raised many of them in one night! It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or insolent demand, and up starts a "patriot" I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and despise all their efforts. This *pretended virtue* proceeds from *personal malice* and *disappointed ambition*! There is not a man among them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from *what motive* they have entered into the *lists of opposition*!"

And so has the honored title of "State rights" been perverted. It indicated, originally, a jealous watchfulness over the rights of the States, against the encroachments of the General Government, and a willingness at any moment to make great sacrifices, if necessary, for their vindication. But now it has become with many a mere "party" name, assumed (as that of "patriot" was in Sir Robert Walpole's day) for the "*popularity*" it brings, and ready to be thrown off as soon as that popularity can lead to a federal office!

and your other representative, at the time, voted, and exerted themselves against the change?" "*struggling with, and grappling with* all the power of their humble abilities, the hydra-headed foe of innovation!!!!" What will become of him and all this immense devotion? you will ask. Why, credit me when I tell you that after he has followed these two "personal friends" to *Washington* either in *person* or in *hope*, to "advance his *pecuniary* prospects," and after they have once fastened his lips upon the teats of the public treasury, not the feeblest sound of a *piggish* grunt will ever after be heard of "State rights," or "Parish questions," or "electoral question," or the "re-opening of the slave trade;" but there he will stay, to suck, suck, for the benefit of his *pecuniary prospects*!

Such are not the motives, fellow-citizens, for which our offices of *honor* have heretofore been sought in this Parish. Our aspirants heretofore have been satisfied with the *distinction* and the *honor* which is implied, in the confidence of their neighbors, in sending them to represent them; and, in return, they have endeavored to do all the good to their constituents and the State, as far as within the sphere of their limited capacity. But to seek office, to be the *hangers-on* of other men for *United States favors*, is without precedent until now!

Mr. Bryan indulges in *sneers* at me for stating, as a motive for public duty, "the silent testimony of one's own conscience." This excites in me no surprise. I did not expect him to understand sentiments like these, much less to appreciate them. To enable him to do so, a *political conscientiousness* will have to be imparted to him, (a work for Omnipotence alone to perform,)

and which will instruct him that where *duty* calls, there he is to go; on the side where *right* is, there he is to march bravely up, and support it, without looking to the consequences, as it may affect him, at the next election. I am aware how difficult it is for the *mere politician* to do this. The tools of his trade are *popularity*, no matter how acquired; and a *punctual compliance* with the *whims* of other people, no matter how absurd in themselves, or how pernicious or unjust to other men. He can no more do without these tools in his trade than can the *ragman*, in his vocation, do without the *crooked stick*, to rake among the rubbish of the streets for the dirty scraps with which to fill his bag.

I can readily imagine, then, fellow-citizens, that the *mere politician* who takes up with politics as a *trade* to advance himself in life, must look upon such a thing as *conscience* (the following of which is so apt to make a man *unpopular*) with a great deal of ridicule and contempt, if, perhaps, with not a little incredulity. Such men seek office for the office sake, or for the *emoluments* and *advancement* which office will bring, or will *put them in the way* of receiving. They are like "the *impotent folk*," laying around the pool of Bethesda, waiting for some angel to go down into the pool and trouble the waters," all eager to be the first to step in, or *get their friends to put them in*. Now our *political* "impotent folk" require, first, to be sufficiently *popular* at home to induce their friends to carry and lay them beside this pool of Bethesda, where the government *treasures* are deposited, and, next, to be sufficiently *popular* with those around the pool to be helped in, when a lucrative office

is about to come up by the troubling of the waters. *Popularity*, then, with such "impotents," is eyes to the "blind," crutches to the "halt," and food and raiment to the "withered," in purse and estate. In the pursuit of their trade, then, such men cannot *afford* to be unpopular, and therefore it is that you see them trimming their sails with such cunning seamanship to catch every breeze of the popular humor, no matter where it may blow them, or how far from those points on the chart where reason and conscience would have carried them. It is to be regretted, on your account, fellow-citizens, that your Senator elect is *likely* to be found in such company, and that, although he "ventures to predict that we are on the eve of a political contest which will shake the States to the centre," as he says, and we are in a "great crisis," that we nevertheless may find him following his "two personal friends" with longing eyes to the Federal City, in expectation of the crumbs which may fall from the rich man's table. Once provided for *there*, and his *disinterested* and patriotic services here are lost—irrevocably lost to us, for ever!

We now come, fellow-citizens, to that part of Mr. Bryan's attack, in which he addresses himself to "your Senator himself." And here I will remark, that never, in all my reading or experience, have I before witnessed such *pompous* and *absurd importance* given to a mere trifle, as he has attempted to magnify "seven words" into, (innocent in themselves, and in their connexion,) which occur in a brief letter which I wrote to the Mercury. "The calibre of your mind is betrayed in these 'seven words.'" "These *seven words* reveal more than I

had supposed you would be willing to admit." "These unfortunate *seven words*, &c.;" and so he runs on, filling up two-thirds of a column in the Mercury, with verbose *peculiarities*, and coarse and insulting insinuations, based upon these "seven words." And what are these dreadful "seven words," which, like the ghost of the "royal Dane," disturbs the crazed imagination of our disordered Hamlet! Read them, fellow-citizens, and if you *can*, restrain your ridicule: "but—very—probably—written—from—this—Parish." Let us now read these "seven words," in their connection in the sentence. But first listen to the portentous solemnity with which he introduces the subject to you, through his address to me.

"Sir—You have ventured with more than ordinary assurance, without a shadow of probability, and no pretense to evidence, to make your last and most *imprudent* inuendo, &c., &c. I read, over your name, in the Mercury of the 27th inst., the following sentence, viz:

A friend has just called my attention to the following paragraph which appeared in the Southern Citizen of Sept. 9th, a paper published in Knoxville, Tenn. They *purport* to be taken from a letter, dated Charleston, Sept. 1, *but very probably written from this Parish.*"

I have no room for the wordy comments which he makes on these "seven words;" but turn to his attack and read them for yourselves. Our language does not afford a specimen, equal to it, of arrogant conceit and self-sufficiency. The words italicised by me here are clothed by him in *Roman capitals*, to indicate the *big importance* which he would persuade you to

attach to them. In my communication of the 4th Oct., (published in the Mercury of the 8th) I have exposed the *motives* which induced him to take exception to that paragraph, and apply them to himself; which were: 1st, to give him something with which to *fill up* his reply: and 2d, to give him *an excuse to delay* sending his reply to the press, until it would be too late for me to answer it, *before the election*. Both these opinions have been justified by the result. His reply was kept back until it was entirely impossible to get my answer printed *before* the election; and the "seven words" were like a lucky "God-send" to him, in affording a topic to run you off upon a false issue; and exercising his ingenuity in filling up two-thirds of a column of a newspaper, with what *he*, no doubt, thinks skillful dialectics and galling denunciation. His motive for pursuing this course, is also very plain. It was to create *new* and *irrelevant* issues between us; and so draw myself and you, fellow-citizens, off, on a false scent, from those grave charges which he had made against me, in his "card;" and which I had answered, so little to his satisfaction. His *stratagem*, however, shall not succeed.

After the notice which I have already taken of his conduct, based upon those "seven words," which is to be found in the Mercury of the 8th, I would now pass over the whole of that portion of his reply, without a remark, were it not for his vile insinuation, that I *falsified dates* in my letters, with a view to produce an impression different from what they profess on their face. I now meet that insinuation by the following plain statement of the *facts* of the case.

On Saturday, the 18th September, when on my way to my *Bugby Plantation*, on one of my usual *business* visits, a friend of mine called my attention to the paragraph in the Southern Citizen, which you have just read. As soon as I returned home that day, I wrote the letter to the editor of the Mercury, in which the extract was published. The letter was written on the 18th, dated the 18th, and put into the mail on the first mail-day afterwards, which was on Monday, the 20th. When it arrived in Charleston, I cannot say; for our mail is slow, and sometimes irregular. The letter was inclosed in one to a friend in Charleston; who is there only during *business* hours and business days, residing at other times in Summerville. I looked for the publication of my letter in *Wednesday's* paper; but not finding it, concluded that it had not been received in time. Thursday being a day of religious observance, my friend did not go to Charleston. There was no paper published on Friday, and when he carried the letter for publication in Saturday's paper, he found my answer to Mr. Bryan's "card," (sent, not by mail, but by a special messenger) in progress of publication. In his letter to me of the 27th, he writes as follows: "Your communication inclosed to me, in reference to the slave trade, is in the paper of to-day. The editor thought it not desirable for it to appear in the same paper with the other communication, in which I concurred." Now, this letter, which Mr. Bryan insinuates must be called a "*post-script*" to my answer, was actually written *two days before I even put pen to paper to write my answer*, which was on Monday, the 20th;

and it was put into the mail on the same day, and in the due course of things it ought to have appeared in *Wednesday's* paper; which was *before* my answer was sent from me here by the special messenger. They were on entirely different subjects, and had no reference to, or connection with, each other; although Mr. Bryan, in the rage of his malice to do me injury, presumes to think otherwise, for the purpose of giving vent to his vile calumnies.

Mr. Bryan makes frequent flings at me, in relation to the "Governorship." I would not notice this evidence of his impotent spite, were it not, that I deem it proper to embrace the occasion, to say a word or two, on that subject, that I may not be misrepresented. The office of Governor is one of great distinction and honor; but it has no such attractions, as to induce me to *seek* after it. By the partiality of friends in various parts of the State, my name, from time to time, without my knowledge, has been placed in connection with that office. I have been entirely passive in the matter; and my friends know best, how little aid, or encouragement, I have given to them to proceed. As an evidence of the small interest which I have taken in the matter, and how little I have *sought after* the office, I can say, that during the eight years I have been in the Senate, I have not become acquainted with scarcely half the members of the House of Representatives, even by *name*, except the old familiar faces: and every one knows, that that is the body which decides such elections. Indeed, why should I *seek* it? I am well persuaded, it can *add* nothing, to my happiness; surrounded as I am by family, and friends who are

most generous and devoted to me; and possessing, by the blessing of God, upon my honest efforts, a competency, sufficient for all my wants. The spiteful sneer then, which represents me, as ambitious of "Executive honors, and the panoply of reviews, and brilliant staffs," falls, like a child's arrow, harmless, at my feet. To the man of sensibility, and just views, the office cannot but be regarded as one of great honor, and a very high compliment; which are both enhanced, when it is conferred, without being *sought* after, through the scramble of eager electioneering.

And now, fellow-citizens, I take my leave of Mr. Bryan. No one regrets, more than I do the *necessity* which has been laid upon me, of *defending* myself, from his atrocious attacks, upon my conduct, and reputation. He has inaugurated a new species of warfare, in this Parish, by which he expects to *drive back* all opposition to him hereafter, by rude assaults, through the public newspapers, upon the private character of his opponents. Every sensitive mind shrinks with instinctive abhorrence, from contact with such a man; and so he expects to have the field to himself. I call upon you to bear witness, that *he* has been the Aggressor; wantonly, causelessly, without provocation, the Aggressor; and if I have exhibited at this election, more earnestness, than at any other before, it is because I have *felt the injustice and atrocity* of that aggression upon me.

I trust that you will believe me not insensible of the many marks of your confidence, in times past; although I cannot sign myself as my late opponent does, "your willing tool." When I was your Senator, I felt that I owed you all true,

and honorable service ; but I felt, at the same time, that I owed to myself, my own *self-respect*, as a *man* ; and that I had not ceased to have my *rights*, in the community, as a *citizen* ; both of which, many unthinking people seem to consider, that a representative should

give up, in return, for having voted for him.

Believe me, fellow-citizens, your faithful friend, but never your flatterer,

J. TOWNSEND.

Bleak Hall, Oct. 13th, 1858.



APPENDIX.

FOR THE MERCURY.

To the Hon. John Townsend :

SIR:—I have perused in the Mercury of the 27th September a very “extraordinary” letter on the revival of the slave trade, which appears over your name. You express your intention not to enter at present into any “elaborate exhibition of the reasons for your opinions, but merely to indicate your position on the subject.” Here, however, I think you are wrong. You are now before the people as a candidate for the highest honor in their gift, and your opinions on this interesting topic are of moment to them, and as one of your constituents I respectfully call on you to give the reasons for the opinions you now hold, or, more properly, to say what has caused you to change them since the last session of the Legislature.

You say there are three opinions in the country on the subject. 1st. That held by Mr. Bryan and those who stand on the same platform; that the trade is right, proper and excellent in itself, and ought to be immediately re-opened. This position is clear and definite, and, as far as I can gather from Mr. Bryan’s writings, he is an earnest advocate for compelling government to repeal the laws which rest like an incubus on the prosperity and development of the “agricultural States.”

2d. There is another, directly antagonistic, viz.: that which

holds that it is “wrong, dangerous, atrocious,” &c. This position is also well defined—that of bold and open enemies of our domestic institutions.

3d. Another opinion is, that it cannot be “condemned as piracy, or as a thing unchristian, immoral or wrong in itself;” yet those who hold it have mounted the fence of “inexpediency.” You have taken your seat among them, and whilst hugging yourself for the comfortable position you have secured on a top rail, you appear to have forgotten the fact that you were one of the Special Committee who reported on Governor Adams’ message, and, as “in the hurry and excitement of some political canvass” it may have passed from your mind, I will refresh your memory by transcribing the resolutions they submitted :

1. *Resolved*, That the chief and almost entire productive industry of the slaveholding States is agriculture, to the successful prosecution of which the labor of negro slaves is indispensably necessary.

2. *Resolved*, That there is a great and growing deficiency of agricultural labor in the said States, which the natural increase of the slave population is inadequate to supply.

3. *Resolved*, That the effect of prohibiting the importation of slaves from abroad is to limit the expansion of the productive industry of the said States, and

of the population which that industry sustains to the ratio of the natural increase of the slave population.

4. *Resolved*, That the importation of slaves from abroad would accelerate the development of the agricultural resources of the slaveholding States, and promote their progress in wealth, population and general improvement, and that such importation, carried on under proper regulations, would not be inconsistent with the principles of justice and humanity.

5. *Resolved*, That the effect of an entire suppression of the African slave trade would be to confine the negroes to their own country, and preclude them from such means of relief from the pressure of a redundant population as might be afforded by emigration, in the only form in which its benefits can be extended to them.

6. *Resolved*, That the Act of Congress declaring the African slave trade to be piracy, if it be understood as affirming that it is piracy in the nature of things and in the sense of the constitution, affirms what is untrue; and inasmuch as it purports and intends to convert into piracy what is not so in the nature of things and in the sense of the constitution, the said act is unconstitutional, null and void.

(Signed)

ALEXANDER MAZYCK,
Chairman.

JOHN TOWNSEND.

The report is elaborate, and, in my humble opinion, an able and unanswerable argument. In strong and graphic language it speaks of the moral paralysis

which has seized on Southern development. It points out the cause—a want of laborers. It gives us a remedy—importation of Africans. It is true the report did not emanate from your pen; but, in assenting to it, you endorsed the sentiments therein contained. You adopted them for your own. You placed them before the Senate for their consideration, and in the grave character of statesman and Senator you sent them forth as the deliberate and honest conviction of your reason.

In your report you say that, “Even here in South Carolina, one of the oldest of the slaveholding States, where our territory is more fully occupied, there are still immense tracts of very fertile land, which, with a more abundant and cheaper supply of suitable labor, might be brought under the dominion of the agriculturist, and made to contribute largely to advance the wealth and population of the State. It is needless to say that there is only one way in which the supply of slave labor can be enlarged further and more rapidly than by the natural increase of the slave population, and that is by the admission of slaves imported from abroad. There being no other source from which they could be obtained than the negro countries of Africa; from which our present slave population was originally derived, the importation of slaves from abroad would necessarily imply the revival of the African slave trade, which we have been so long accustomed to hear denounced as a cruel and nefarious traffic, and on which modern philanthropy has expended so much effort and

uttered so much eloquent declamation."

In your private character as (a "wealthy planter") you think it "inexpedient and improper," because the black population already out-numbers the white by about 120,000. You own many; but do you reflect that there are hundreds of your fellow-citizens, industrious and laborious men, who possess none, and who would gladly own them if they could only get them. How can we reconcile this discrepancy in your language? Whom are we to believe? Mr. Townsend, the Senator and member of the special committee on the slave trade, or Mr. Townsend, the wealthy Edisto planter and candidate for office? Again, in your report you have asserted "that whatever limits or retards the increase of the slave population must also limit and retard, in a corresponding degree, the increase of the white population, for it is obvious that the white population is maintained either directly by the revenue derived from agriculture, or indirectly by means of the various employments and pursuits, professional, commercial, mechanical and miscellaneous, which are sustained by the exchange, distribution and expenditure of that revenue. Laws, therefore, which prevent accession to the slave population of the Southern States from abroad, and confine it to its natural increase, have also the effect of limiting, in a proportionate degree, the expansion of their white population."

In your late letter you say it is inexpedient and improper to import them into this State, and are thus for restricting the

growth of the white classes in this State—as, from your own showing, the expansion of the one depends on that of the other. Is this consistent? As we now stand we are in a deplorable minority to the people of the North, and you, a South Carolina legislator, proclaim yourself ready to place your heel on Southern development and check its progress. Your eccentricity excites my admiration!

I apprehend that your recent letter will take your colleague of the Special Committee with as much surprise as it has done some of your constituents. I presume Mr. Mazyck (Chairman of the Committee, and author of the report and resolutions) fully meant what he has so ably expressed; and if words can convey a meaning, I understand his report as urging the propriety and expediency of reviving the trade, not only for the benefit of new and partially settled States, but for the South at large, including South Carolina. If he held the views you have put forth in your late note, I can only say he is most unfortunate as a writer in selecting words which convey an impression so diametrically at variance with the sentiments he was endeavoring to inculcate.

Your position is painfully anomalous. If you thought the revival of the trade inexpedient and improper, it follows that, in assenting to the report, you have been guilty of the weakness of succumbing to a master mind, and allowing yourself to be drawn into recommending measures which were contrary to your convictions. If such is the case, how can we

confide our interests to your keeping? Are you fit for the trust? This opinion of you I do not, however, hold. I well know the firmness and inflexibility of your character, and that you are a man not subject to extraneous influences. I therefore take it for granted that at the time the Senate report was submitted, you held the sentiments therein set forth, and have subsequently changed them. Your reasons for doing so I again ask. They must be very strong to work such an alteration in you in the short period of one year; if they should not prove sufficient, you have reduced yourself to the sad spectacle of a statesman who adopts his opinion hastily and inconsiderately, with a fickleness of mind and eccentricity of disposition which must disqualify him for the high functions of a lawgiver.

A CONSTITUENT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. Mitchel's reply to the note of Col. E. B. Bryan reached us yesterday. In justice to Col. Bryan, we insert the correspondence, as he designed it in his article in the Mercury of Wednesday last;

JOHN'S ISLAND, So. CA., }
Sept. 29th, 1858. }

Dear Sir: An article appeared in the Mercury of the 27th, over the name of John Townsend, *evidently insinuating* that I wrote a certain article

in your paper of the 9th inst. The thing itself is of no consequence, but as HE conceives it to be a great *electioneering trick*, in which resort he is reputed to be *an adept*, I wish to have his *childish effort* refuted from the proper source, viz: one of the Editors of the Citizen. I therefore request you to say, as a matter of courtesy to me, whether I have ever written a line for the Citizen; and, further, whether any resident of St. John's, Colleton Parish has. An answer by return mail will oblige,

Your obedient servant,

E. B. BRYAN.

Mr. JOHN MITCHEL, Editor
Southern Citizen.

KNOXVILLE, TENN., }
October 4, 1858. }

Dear Sir: I have not seen the article you refer to in the Mercury of 27th, over the name John Townsend; but if it ascribes to you any article in the Southern Citizen, of the 9th September, and, if you desire to have the statement denied, you are entitled to such denial, and it shall be done in an answer to correspondents, in the most conspicuous part of next week's number.

I don't know where "St. John's, Colleton" is, and as we have had several correspondents in your State, I could not well deny that any one from that Parish has ever contributed to the Citizen.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN MITCHELL.

E. B. BRYAN, Esq.